

Maclean's

JACK NICHOLSON IN PROFILE

THE GULF CRISIS

WINDS OF WAR

**THE CONFLICT
APPROACHES A CLIMAX**

**WHY CANADA IS
SENDING FORCES**

IRAQI TROOPS
ON AN EXERCISE



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE AUGUST 30, 1993 VOL. 103 NO. 34

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COVER

THE WINDS OF WAR



As a formidable multinational military force led by the United States converged on the Persian Gulf last week, Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein called on fellow Arabs to wage a "holy war" against the Americans. But as the threat of war hung over a region vital to the global economy, many economists predicted that an economic boycott could lead to widespread recession. — 32

FILMS/SPECIAL REPORT

HOLLYWOOD'S WILD CARD

Jack Nicholson describes making *The Two Jakes*, the sequel to *Chinatown*, as a labor of love. But the movie's themes of betrayal and obsession acquired a cruel resonance for the film-makers. Raging acrimony behind the camera scarred friendships and cast a long shadow over the project. — 34



CANADA

HIGHER STAKES

Quebec's decision to ask Ottawa for army assistance in the Mobutu dispute gave Ottawa an opportunity to rebuild respect for federalism. But growing tensions and heightened passions on all sides in the standoff threatened to derail the best efforts of a new mediator in peeling the way to a settlement. — 12



COVER PHOTO BY STEVEN SHAN

Contents subject to change without notice.

LETTERS

MOHAWKS 'GOING TOO FAR'

YET pictures of Montreal protesters burning an Indian effigy left no shadowing as the thought of what could happen if the majority of Canadians ever decide to settle their grievances through violent action ("Diagnosis stands," Canada, July 30). Clearly, the Mohawk Warriors have gone too far, regardless of their cause. If the federal government hopes to maintain peace and order in the long run, it will have to demonstrate that violent action will not yield results. Continuing government apathy will just ensure that the country will be faced with more violent actions for less compelling causes.

Joseph Z. Baka,
Vancouver



Indian effigy: 'vigilante action'

Congratulations to Montreal for an excellent coverage of the Oka celebration. Your magazine has set a standard for what the Canadian response should be to native demands: knowledgeable about the issues surrounding Indian claims, associations of white Canadians' role in inducing native people to their present state, and generosity of spirit towards our aboriginal brothers and sisters.

Trent Brady,
Toronto

DEPARTED, BUT NOT DEAD

A correction regarding the story about *Longmoss*. A reporter in the *Star* (CA press's news idea "People, July 28) there were not 22 casualties as a result of the explosion of the British Chemical Co., Toronto, Ont., in 1916. One of the survivors' narratives ensures that 22 employees of the munitions factory did not show up to collect their pay-drawals after the disaster. However, there is no evidence in all that they died.

Al Purdy,
Amherstburg, Ont.

A GIFT OF TONGUES

To be pillared by Alan Richardson in *Battering Indeed* ("The toll" and opinion of Germans," Canada, July 30), but perhaps we Brits should ask those who gave him the language to set us up?

Peter Cawth,
Lanark, Ont.

THE MEASURE OF A MAN

Mikhail Gorbachev is criticized for his backslide Russia in *Opening Notes* ("Bad grammar bites back," July 30). Do the Soviets not have more than enough to worry about without sharing Marina Goldsmen's pe-

litudes. Now that she is working in Montreal, do you think Goldsmen could say something about Jean Charest's account? If he becomes Prime Minister, Canada will be the first nation whose leader talks like a peasant in both languages.

Richard Patterson,
Calgary

THE PRICE OF ALLEGATION

I must take exception to your headline "The price of defaming" (*Opening Notes*, July 28). It is both misleading and inaccurate. The \$500,000 suit filed against me and Patricia Black Canada Ltd. by *Canada Black* was settled out of court, and no determination was made as to whether he was, in fact, defamed. The settlement included the payment of one dollar, the jailing of 4,206 pages of the last-cover edition of *Where Money Is A Day's Wage* and its apology for any "embarrassment or inconvenience" to Black. I trust that the destruction of the books and the publication of the alleged libel has made him feel better.

Ann Finlayson,
Toronto

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should indicate address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean's Media Group, 111 King St. W., Toronto, Ont. M5X 1C7.

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OPENING NOTES

Barbie reaches the summit, Deborah Coyne economizes on the road, and David Smith checks out Czech delis

INJUSTICE PAYS OFF

It took a long time, but justice was finally served in the case of Donald Marshall Jr. In July, the young Miqmaq from Nova Scotia, who spent 11 years in prison for a murder he did not commit, received an award of \$715,000 in addition to the \$40,000 the province had already paid him. But Marshall is not the only one who has benefited financially from Canada's most notorious miscarriage of justice. The total cost of the fiasco to Canadian taxpayers was \$7.1 million. And a whopping \$4.3 million of that went to the lawyers who were acting for both sides. Indeed, the legal firm representing John MacIntyre, the former Sydney police chief who mishandled the original investigation, earned \$323,000 for its efforts. David Paul, executive director of the Confederacy of Maritime Miqmaq, said that he is pleased that Marshall got a better deal. But he conceded that it was a lucrative affair for the legal profession. Added Paul: "This doesn't surprise me by any means—but in some cases, it's a little obscene."

Marshall: a lucrative deal for the lawyers involved



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY AROCH

Have computer, will travel

One of the world's best-selling laptop computers, Toshiba's L2055SE Notebook, has its origins in the number-crunching resources of Ottawa's office of the auditor general. According to Toshiba's Canadian vice-president, Yildir Rehan, the prototype, nicknamed "the Ottawa," was developed five years ago when Canada's auditors asked for portable computers. Auditor-General Kenneth Dyk expressed reluctance to endorse a private company, but he said that the laptops "have been a big help." Said Rehan: "Canada's auditors are the epitome of the travelling professional." Tough, with a software centre.

DELICATESSEN DIPLOMACY

In May, Pierre Trudeau travelled to Czechoslovakia to address its leaders on drawing up a new constitution. Now, another Canadian is taking his expertise to Prague. David Smith, the owner of Nite's Delicatessen, the popular Ottawa-based chain of smoked-meat restaurants, with outlets in California and Florida, plans to teach the Czechoslovaks a thing or two about delis. Smith said that the Czechoslovakian trade commission "started nibbling at the leg to go and see what the potential was for opening a deli there." And the idea was still with him when Nite's ordered a kitchen last February for serving Czechoslovakian President Václav Havel. Said Smith: "They couldn't believe the smoked meat we served here." Smith, who is the son of Russian immigrants, will be touring Prague next month to look up ways of spreading the computer operations and management techniques in the Czechoslovakian food industry. But he will also be looking for post-visit opportunities that could take Nite's to Eastern Europe. Canada has everything to offer—from constitutional advice to cured beef.



Smith offering costly advice

Marcel's nibbling



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY AROCH

NODDY'S NICE ADVENTURES IN TOYLAND

In British author Fred Blyden's Noddy books of the 1950s, "guys" meant "odd," and "grrr" meant "happy." But times and the stories have changed. The children's books featuring the clumsy but effervescent character with the ball on his hat and the spotted noseband have been released for the 1990s. Now, racially insensitive monikers have replaced the black galleys, and the delicate language of female characters has been toughened. A spokesman for Macdonald, publisher of the 34 books, which have sold 100 million copies in several languages, said that they have not received many complaints about the changes. But the spokesman acknowledged that demand for the original books has been stronger since the new edition appeared. Some stereotypes die hard.

Pope takes a hike

Newfoundland Archbishop Alphonse Ponecay, who resigned in July, has taken a lot of criticism over sexual an-



Ponecay, waiting for the Pope

scandals involving priests and young boys. But his resignation is not official until Pope John Paul II accepts it. Moreover, the Pope is currently heading Rome's summer heat by taking a walking tour as the Italian Alps. Said Rev. Kevin Molloy, a church spokesman: "They don't have air conditioning, and the heat is just oppressive." Meanwhile, Ponecay is left out in the cold.

A small price to pay for a game

Cheaper sex, summer is a time for playing golf. But the 270 members of the exclusive Kananaskis Golf Club, which is located on the Muskoka Peninsula north of Montreal, have been unable to play there. And even though other Muskoka golf clubs have opened their doors to the elites, few clubs have been successful at Kananaskis. Now, the staff at the golf course, most of whom are Muskoka, are taking pity on the privileged few by accepting lots of calls to Montreal by mail at the summer requests. But the aboriginal greenkeepers are enacting a price. Members are paying as much as \$30 each for the benefit. Noddy, however, is complaining. Said Kananaskis member Richard Ostry: "It's a delicate

situation. When this is all over, I want to be able to walk back on to the golf course." Clubs and all.



PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY AROCH

Muskoka playing golf: pity for the privileged

THE PRICE OF DISUNITY

Deborah Coyne, senior constitutional adviser to Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, is proving to be one of the increasingly troubled province's most valuable assets. Coyne, who has been romantically linked with Pierre Trudeau, accompanied Wells and his assistant, Michael Dornan, on anti-Meech speaking tours last winter. While Wells and Dornan flew first-class class, Coyne sat in economy. And on a visit to Montreal, Dornan paid \$442.20 for two nights at the posh Ritz-Carlton Hotel, but Coyne bunked at the YMCA. Her NZ \$84.



The doll of her dreams

When nine-year-old Anika Paine of East Germany made her first shopping trip to the West after the Berlin Wall fell, she brought a Barbie doll—that familiar symbol of the rampant consumerism of Western society. And when 1991 revolution hit Mafel Toys, which in 1989 created the fan-based, 110-cm-tall plastic beauty with her glittering gown and cartoon accessories, knew a good thing when they saw it. They're releasing Fred Wile Anika's name, so saying that they are pleased, what they call a "Barbie Summer" in her honour to New York City in Milwaukee. They are saving children aged 6 to 9 from 30 countries to gather and discuss world problems. Said a spokesman for Mafel: "Anika's story embodies the spirit of the program, and demonstrates how children of all cultures share the same dream." So much for victims of capitalism.

Barbie, the symbol of consumerism

"This is wartime . . . but it's a war we can still win, with . . . a great many intelligent choices. . . . AND THE CHOICE IS YOURS."

From the preface by Margaret Atwood

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A typical tale of Canadian bungling

BY DEANE FRANCIS

The sawmill 12 km south of Watson Lake in the Yukon is a sorry sight. Insects have eaten their way into the mill's sawdust pile, and the mill's sawdust pile is a sorry sight. The mill's sawdust pile is a sorry sight. The mill's sawdust pile is a sorry sight.

The sawmill saga is about a mixed-enterprise fiasco, caused by business opportunism and political expediency

incinerator claim for the fire which could be worth up to \$700,000."

Here's the chronology of events. The mill, which employed 100 at its peak, went bankrupt. In December 1989, the Yukon government paid \$475,000 for the mill and \$90,000 for related harvesting licenses. It then bought the mill over 50 its development corporation, which responded in May 1991. In September 1991, the development corporation announced a sale of \$1.5 million on its \$5.3-million investment for the fiscal year ending in March 1992. Five months later, in January 1992, on the eve of the last Yukon election—New Democrat government leader Tony Penikese announced with great fanfare that half of the mill and accompanying timber rights in the area were sold for \$2.5 million to a company called Yukon Pacific Forest Products Ltd.

The government agency retained a 15-per cent interest in the new venture and gave away 35 per cent to active groups. It took back shares and debentures as payment for the other half, which was split 50-50 between the Northern and Southern branches, both called Shadings Inc. and T. F. Properties Ltd., a holding company run by two Blevins Street stock

promoters, Ted Myers and Barry Ferguson. The two promoters had brought the deal to Shadings, in which the Bank of Nova Scotia as well as several other financial institutions have an interest.

Yukon Pacific's plan was that T. F. Properties would run the operation and come up with a business plan in that money could be raised to replace the depleted sawmill. For its part, T. F. says that some of its management fees remain unpaid. But Shadings says that all financing could not be completed until T. F. sent monthly audited financial statements and a business plan.

Between February and December 1989, the mill lost another \$6.2 million, and it was the government's development corporation, to protect its debentures and stock, that pulled the plug by petitioning Yukon Pacific into receivership. Parsons acquired and bills went unpaid all over town. In May, his loss was upped by the warning letters, the receiver successfully asked the court for permission to sell the mill's assets. On July 13, the receiver closed two bids and four expressions of interest, but would release details until he makes a decision.

Even more eyebrows-raising in this case was the fact that not only did Shadings put \$1 million of equity money into the mill, but also that the Bank of Nova Scotia, which lent the mill \$2.5 million, secured only by the mill's security of lumber and logs as collateral—lumber and logs now worth a fraction of that amount. "The bank is embarrassed," says receiver Rogers. "It's the lumber is worth \$72,000 gross, and the logs \$30,000 for the same tons and \$45,000 for the other ones."

Also embarrassing is that Shadings would join forces with Myers and Ferguson, formerly shareholders and officers at Gannett Systems Inc., a company supported by the Vancouver Stock Exchange in 1988, pending classification of Gannett's shares. The company was delisted last January after failing to release a re-acquisition plan. Gannett's plan was to market a coin-operated auto-washing machine called the Grapple, and, interestingly, the receiver at Watson Lake recently found several used Grapple auto-washing machines shared with the sawmill operation.

Yukon Development Corporation spokesman Alex Kender blames Shadings and T. F. Properties for the fiasco and adds that his agency has no reason to get involved in the sawmill. "We have no ability to use them to fulfill their obligation in the mill. The only one who could facilitate lawsuits against them is Yukon Pacific for failing to follow through on commitments, and they are the major shareholders of Yukon Pacific. They are not going to sue themselves, and we are a minority."

No matter what the outcome, the Watson Lake sawmill mess is another example of waste-fueled and the proclivity among Canadians on politicians to squander taxpayers' money on misguided development projects, and the enormous development of regions which may never be economically viable. A waste-in-Canada mess.

HIGHER STAKES

Illegals in a peaceful occupation of a parcel of Quebec land claimed by members of the Kanesatake Mohawk band. But next July 13, when Quebec provincial police assaulted a barricade manned by armed Mohawk Warriors on a golf course outside the town of Oka, the dispute has spiralled into a showdown with a hair-trigger potential for tragedy and—since last week—political warfare. On July 9, when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa called on Ottawa for the intervention of the Canadian Armed Forces in the standoff, he effectively handed Prime Minister Brian Mulroney an opportunity to reinforce respect for federalism in a province widely regarded as the fulcrum of the future of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. But, as Mulroney himself acknowledged after announcing his government's reluctance to send troops to quell the Mohawks' armed stand, the situation is also a risky one, politically and tactically. Observed Mulroney: "We have an emotional situation of great sensitivity. Warriors have access to arms and equipment that is unusual and extremely dangerous."

Both Mulroney and Bourassa emphasized that the Canadian troops will merely serve as a support force for the province's 500 to 600 Quebec officers at road barricades at Oka and Kahnawake, a reserve south of Montreal where Mohawk Warriors have blockaded the Merivale Bridge connecting auto-shore suburbs to the city. The Armed Forces will also act in cooperation with Quebec's Sûreté Quotidienne (SQ) Chief Justice Alan B. Gold, whom Mulroney appointed as a mediator to assist in negotiating negotiations between the Mohawks and the Quebec government. But Ottawa's aggressive new stance in the dispute raises the federal profile in Quebec. Owen Tonks, a Bramford, Ont., lawyer

QUEBEC'S CALL FOR FEDERAL HELP IN THE MOHAWK DISPUTE RAISES HOPES AND RISKS



working with the Mohawks in Kahnawake, observed that Mulroney stands to reinforce his government's position in the province—if Gold is successful. Said Young: "There are several agendas being played out here, not the least of which is Mulroney's constitutional agenda for Quebec."

Fulfilling the political agenda hoped for involving a difficult dispute, Gold's main challenge, as he begins mediation talks, was to get the Mohawks to lay down their arms. The Mohawks were used to be studying disengagement plans. But on the day of Gold's appointment, Warriors at Oka built two dirt barricades in front of their main hilltop roadblock, set up a foodpounder and directed troops down more at a police barricade down the hill. "I guess somebody is waiting for the other to blink," said Lorna Thompson, a Kanesatake Warrior spokeswoman, as he sat in a lawn chair by the barricade. Added Thompson: "We have backed up and backed up and backed up to satisfy the selfish of this country. This time, we stand our ground."

Then, only a day after Gold's appointment, the Kanesatake Mohawks warned the federal government that they are re-examining the new resolution agreement because they fear a buildup of troops at the police barricades in Oka and Kahnawake could lead to a "quiescent" negotiating process. Warriors say that any assault by troops on their positions would prompt a sabotage campaign of federal and provincial installations on the reserve, which could include hydro power lines, the St. Lawrence Seaway and the Merivale Bridge. Said one Kahnawake Warrior: "If the army comes in, the bridge goes down."

At the same time, fear of violence has mounted in communities affected by the bridge and highway blockades, as well as in Kahnawake itself. Despite assurances by the government and military commanders that no battles

Mohawk Warrior at Oka: 'This time, we stand our ground'



Police and demonstrators last week at Merivale Bridge approach growing anger

will occur, about 50 of the 220 families living in the Mohawk settlement outside Oka left their homes last week. The evacuation also isolated many residents of Oka, who moved into nearby motels at the expense of the provincial government. As the level's economy plummeted, many remaining residents grew increasingly hostile towards the Mohawks. While the Mohawks built their own dirt blockades last week, a group of residents assembled at the town centre to watch Said and his men, who refused to identify himself. "Look at the God damned services they say they care about the environment and they are leaving it up."

Anger and fear among white Francophones are even more evident at Châteauguay, the southwestern St. Lawrence community that borders Oka. In several demonstrations at the police barricade on the highway leading to the Merivale Bridge, citizens clashed with police after chasing a group of motorcyclists who rode their bikes through the crowd to protest the government's failure to reopen the bridge. Many protests and that they want the army to clear the Mohawk roadblock by force if necessary. Said Françoise L'Abbe, a 35-year-old collector from the nearby town of L'Orléans: "The army has to open the bridge. It is the only solution."

Many others said they want the army to invade the reserve and seize all Warrior weapons. Residents living in homes on the periphery of Kahnawake allege that Warriors are venturing all the reserve with their weapons. Said Raymond Duro, a acquaintance warrior from nearby Merivale: "People are worried some-

body is going to snap and fire a gun. A cleanup has to be done."

Meanwhile, the Quebec dispute prompted reactions elsewhere, as it has for a month. In British Columbia, Premier William Vander Zalm applauded Mulroney's appointment of Gold, saying that it had eased tensions in his province, where natives had set up roadblocks in sympathy with the Mohawks. Vander Zalm also announced that, in a reversal of 300 years of provincial policy, British Columbia would now negotiate the issue of native land claims along with the federal government. The province had previously confirmed that native land claims were solely within Ottawa's jurisdiction. But Vander Zalm still refused to recognize an aboriginal title to B.C. lands—something that the province asserts has been extinguished by colonial laws and historical use of the land. As a result, Vander Zalm's stand left B.C. native leaders disappointed.

But Quebec remained the focal point of the long-standing dispute between Canadian natives and governments over territory. Although Mohawk lawyer Young, for one, acknowledged that the Warriors are considering a plan for disengagement from the barricades, the organization with the promise—if they assume—was likely to be difficult. Said Young of the Mohawks: "They are themselves so entitled to defend their territory." For Mulroney, the solution designed to resolve the dispute—also to begin to grow in Quebec—also carry the potential of further losses.

DAN BURKE is in Oka

National Notes

AN ELECTION CALL

Montreal Premier Guy Filion called a provincial election for Sept. 11. Filion, whose minority Conservative government held 24 seats in the provincial legislature to 21 for the Quebec Liberal Party and 12 for Guy Duce's New Democrats, said that Montfort "should be given an opportunity to decide who speaks on their behalf."

LIBERAL PASSPORTS

After a six-month investigation, Canadian and Hong Kong authorities said that they had searched an international passport belonging to a person. Police claim that the passport belonged to 4,000 mainland Chinese, many of them with Hong Kong or Singapore passports, in Canada.

ACCUSING A PREMIER

A former government employee claimed that in 1984 government workers captured and painted Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan's name on the rear of provincial trucks. Buchanan did not respond to the charges, although he has promised that government records will refute previous charges of widespread patronage and corruption made earlier this year by former justice minister of government services Michael Zarda.

SAVING THE SKIT

With Ottawa's controversial Goods and Services Tax legislation now before the Senate, government House Leader Maurice Audin warned that "all options are open" to the government if the Liberal-dominated chamber attempts to block the bill. Among those options: increasing the size of the Senate. By appointing Conservatives to existing vacancies and to as many as eight new seats, the government could gain control of the upper house.

DEMANDING ALLEGIANCE

In North Bay, Ont., city council voted unanimously to ask Ottawa to extend a membership card to a newcomer to Canada for Mrs. The action was aimed at the Bloc Québécois, a group of non-former Conservative and one former Liberal who favor Quebec sovereignty.

THE RIGHT TO HELP

After an initial refusal from authorities, Winnipeg native social agencies what the right to counsel 25 known victims of what police call that city's most horrifying child pornography case. The victims, most of them young native girls, were held in an apartment, drugged and sexually abused while being videotaped. A 35-year-old man arrested in June faces 64 charges.

A clean break

Ben Johnson gets set to compete again

For a man accustomed to buzzing out of the starting blocks, it was clearly a frustrating experience. But even though former 100-m world record holder Ben Johnson could sit only as a spectator at the Canadian Track and Field Championships last month in Montreal, he still overwhelmed many of the competitors. How, the spectators wondered, "the fastest man in the world" is poised to leave the sidelines and restart his racing career. Last week, the federal minister of state for fitness and amateur sport, Marcel Dugas, lifted a lifetime ban on competing for Canada that Ottawa imposed on Johnson, 35, after he tested positive for steroid use at the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Johnson, who has recently been training five days a week, ended quiet confusion about the prospect of re-entering competition. Assessing his chances at the 1990 Olympics in Barcelona, Johnson said, "I'll win the gold medal for sure."

In lifting Ottawa's ban, Dugas followed the recommendations of Ontario Chief Justice Charles Doherty, who in 1989 held nine months of hearings into drug use in amateur sport and in June submitted his 138-page report to the

federal government. Among those recommendations Ottawa should step aside and let track-and-field associations determine Johnson's fate. Now, Johnson is eligible to return to competition when the two-year ban imposed by Athletics Canada, the sports federation responsible for track and field, expires on Sept. 24. The federation's president, Paul Dupré, said that Johnson will once again be welcome to earn a place as Canada's track-and-field icon.

Still, Johnson is clearly not returning to the track in a blaze of glory. For one thing, Dugas accepted another of the Doherty report's recommendations: that Ottawa refrain as long as possible from government funding to Johnson and other athletes caught using drugs. For Johnson, who because his 1988 comeback at the

Seoul trial made an estimated \$1 million a year in product endorsements and appearance fees, the loss of \$500 a month from Ottawa clearly will be easy to absorb. But new measures announced by the sports minister to deter athletes from using steroids and other banned substances clearly will stand as a reminder of the sense of disbelief and anguish that swept over the nation when, 12 hours after his thrilling dash at Seoul in a world-record 9.79 seconds, Johnson was stripped of his gold medal and later of his record.

Among Ottawa's measures: athletes who use drugs and banned substances will be suspended from competition for a minimum of four years—instead of the current six-month to two-year suspensions imposed by track associations. Johnson, for one, was clearly happy that he escaped those stringent new penalties. Said the sprinter:

"It's one of the happiest days of my life so far. I'm just very happy that the government gave me the OK to run for this country again."

If the Montreal track meet last month was any indication, that happiness will be shared by many Canadian track-and-field officials. Organizers there frantically ad-

vised that they had invited Johnson as a spectator in order to draw crowds and reporters—and increase revenues. And before his suspension, Johnson had been a virtual commodity for Canada's track-and-field associations. Dupré, for one, said that Athletics Canada had planned on making \$500,000 a year from marketing revenues involving Johnson in 1988 and 1989. For an organization with an annual budget of \$4.3 million, the loss of these revenues came as a blow—and officials are clearly heartened by the prospect of having Johnson back in the fold. Indeed, Charles Francis, Johnson's former coach, "It's hardly as if they can do without him. It is not just the guy who raises money for everybody. Let's face it, the entire sports system [in Canada] was resting on his shoulders."

Still, even though Johnson has continued to enjoy a high profile during his suspension, he acknowledges that he faces a big hurdle in returning to competitive without steroids. "I have to prove that I can do it without drugs," said Johnson. "And it is going to take a long time." At the same time, though, Dugas said that Ottawa also faces a challenge, reestablishing Canada's international athletic reputation. "We would still like to win, but I think someone has to lead, and in this case, it is



Johnson training last week, "one of the happiest days"

Canada," he told Maricopa. "Whether we win or not is not as important as being a clean team." But Francis, for one, claimed that the federal measures would leave Canadian athletes at a disadvantage—if Canada stands alone

in its efforts to curb drug use in sports. Said Francis of Canadian athletes: "We're moving towards a future of pretty clean competitors."

Dugas said that Canadians can remain competitive if the international athletic community can be convinced to exact rules similar to the one Canada proposes—measures that he called among "the harshest in the world." Said the minister: "We are trying to get our fellow nations to convince the international federations to impose stricter guidelines and have stronger doping controls." The minister's message is clear: If Canada's coaches and athletes want to win, they will have to help the government convince other countries to play by Canadian rules. Dugas remained optimistic that the Canadian view will prevail. "I don't know if we can get this in place for Barcelona," he noted. "But I think, within a few years, if we get the co-operation of the Canadian sports organizations and the International Olympic Committee, I don't see why we can't have a level playing field." But for Johnson, at least, being allowed into competition was the most welcome news of all—whether the field is level or

DAVID J. PHILLIPS

back
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Haze on the hustings

Ontario campaigners compete with summer

The verbal volleys began as soon as Ontario Premier David Peterson called a provincial election for Sept. 6. At his campaign kickoff, the New Democratic Party's champagne-soaked leader, Bob Rae, charged that Peterson "bel directly" that he government would reduce social assistance rates during the Liberals' successful 1990 election year. Peterson's most senior minister, Treasurer Robert Nixon, retorted by referring to the NDP leader as "el puke Bobby Rae." Then, at a party that drew hordes of supporters, Peterson, who said that being ousted by Nixon was like being "strangled by a dead sheep."

But those rhetorical fireworks have provided the only engaging political theatre as an otherwise lousy summer campaign that has



Peterson at a campaign campaign in Woodbridge, Ont.: challenge

clearly failed to capture the attention of Ontario voters. Said NDP campaign director David Agnew: "A lot of people don't even know that there is an election on." Among those who do know, there is widespread questioning of the premier's rationale for calling an election less

than three years into his mandate as an estimated cost to the public of \$440 million. Echoing the charges by Rae and the new Conservative leader, Michael Harris, some voters accuse Peterson of political opportunism in staging an election before the province experiences the full impact of a budgetary recession. Said Eric McEwen, a St. Catharines resident and traditional Liberal supporter who claims that the government is not for a different party. "This election is totally needed for."

The election's timing also means that a court appearance by former Liberal cabinet minister Patricia Murray, who faces 11 fraud charges and 34 counts of violating election finance law, will begin as the campaign closes. The Starr case, which involves some government figures, has generated controversy for over a year.

So far, such controversies do not appear to have dented Peterson's popularity. When called the election, his Liberal-led government won a comfortable 59-seat majority in the 105-seat legislature against the party's 29 seats, the Tories' 17 and one vacancy. With these advantages, the Liberal campaign has reflected the mood of a party hoping to win without a bruising fight. Peterson seemed to deliberately ignore both his provincial opponents and their criticisms. And has most substantive speech during the first two weeks of the campaign tackled anti-corruption. He challenged Quebec's claim to be able to negotiate some autonomy directly with Ottawa and has repeatedly criticized the federal government for weakness.

In that speech, delivered to the Ontario Chamber of Commerce on Aug. 10, Peterson stated out his position on the future of Confederation, declaring that "Ontario will not let its destiny be decided by the actions of others, or by the unchallenged drift of events." He said he would appoint a nonpartisan public commission after the election to formulate Ontario's position on Confederation. The objective that should guide Canada's constitutional future, he said, include enhanced ties among Canada's regions and protection of the federal government's powers. Said Peterson, "We cannot afford to see national powers and national institutions carved into 10 separate pieces."

The early days of the government's re-election campaign have consisted largely of a Peterson tour dominated by media interviews. At the tourist town of Niagara-on-the-Lake last week, Peterson led his entourage of placard-carrying supporters, aides and reporters through four ice-cream shops, two fudge shops and a jam store. At almost every campaign stop, Peterson has been greeted by hecklers. At his own nomination meeting in London Center, he looked out at an anti-poverty demonstration who disrupted proceedings. Scolding the protesters: "Some day you're going to grow

up and find a responsible job." Party supporters charged the protester out of the hall.

Meanwhile, some Liberal candidates expressed concern that the support reflected in opinion polls may be soft. As *Environews* poll taken before the election call pegged Liberal support at 50 per cent, compared with 28 for the NDP and 22 for the Conservatives. But some Liberal candidates are taking nothing for granted. Scarborough MP candidate Joe Peterson, for one, has unveiled a compressed hotline that allows callers to select pre-recorded messages stating his own views on various issues. But, said Peterson: "I don't see that 50 per cent they're talking about. It's more like 20 at the door. The bigger thing I'm hearing is that we can't trust."

Such attitudes have galvanized the Mr. Rae, who has appeared still as previous campaigns. He shows a new sense of political timing. Since the campaign began on July 26, he has conducted an orchestrated series of attacks on the government against symbolic backdrops such as landfill sites and run-down public housing projects. And the party is relying on Rae's strength as a campaigner to help several new candidates in Toronto's Riverdale, where city councillor Marilyn Charley is running to replace retiring New Democrat MP David Mills. Rae greeted police shopkeepers and was scolded. Said city cleaner owner Bill Messer, in a thick Greek accent: "You should be president." Responded Rae: "Premier would be a good start."

The Conservatives, meanwhile, are struggling to overcome organizational difficulties. At the end of last week, the party had not had enough candidates to run in all of the province's 130 ridings. In South Sea Marm, former Tory candidate Udo Ruck declined to run again and last week's application to note Liberal—only for the city to receive more government letters. And the Tories suffered an embarrassing controversy over their initial choice of a campaign theme song, the Rolling Stones' *Hot Stuff*. Campaign chairman John Leachinger and that he replaced that song with a new one last week—the Beatles' *The Man*—which reporters criticized the many copies of the record contained in the original choice. Said Harris: "I'm not a good one at knowing the lyrics. It's got a nice groove that I can march to close to and that's what counts for me."

The two opposition camps clearly regard a debate between the three leaders, scheduled for Aug. 20, as an opportunity to turn out some of Peterson's critics. The premier is preparing for the contest by meeting with advisers and penning over briefing books. Among his coaches: consultant Patrick Gossage, press secretary to Harris' brother-in-law, Harris' press secretary to Harris' brother-in-law, Harris' press secretary to Harris' brother-in-law. Harris' handlers plan to set up a mock studio with aides playing parts of both two opponents and the media. An aide to the NDP leader said Rae would not undertake any special preparations for the showdown and instead would likely take a day off to golf. Then, the major challenge facing the candidates may well be to win sympathy among the public's interest in the election.

PAUL KATZ

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WORLD

A DEPARTURE BY DECREE

Ottawa's prime minister's official residence in Islamabad last week, Prime Minister's wife and members of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) chanted "Long live Bhutto." As a truck loaded with Benazir Bhutto's family luggage and the coffins of her children, 20-year-old son Bilawal and six-month-old daughter Bakhtawar, left the capital last week bound for a flight south to Karachi, the former leader waved dejectedly in her supporters. After just 22 months, Bhutto—and Pakistan's professed democracy—suffered a serious blow. The previous day, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, accused the PPP of

**AMID CHARGES OF
CORRUPTION, THE
PRESIDENT OF
PAKISTAN FIRES
PRIME MINISTER
BENAZIR BHUTTO**

Indira Khosla (left) with Bhutto ousted by a 'constitutional coup d'état'

of corruption, nepotism and abuses of power, had fired Eshita and her cabinet, dissolved the National Assembly and declared a state of emergency.

"constitutional crisis if I lost" and predicted that she would win re-election in new balloting scheduled for Oct. 24. But some analysts said that she would never get the chance to contest an election. "I do not think there will be an election," said one Asian diplomat in Islamabad, an indication of uncertainty "It is too much of a risk."

Shortly after leaving the Modern world's only female leader in charge, Ishaq Khan installed Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, a veteran politician who broke with Bhutto in 1985, as caretaker prime minister. The president also ordered an amnesty with those who had

accents in Singh province and Bhutto's home province of Sindh, where deep-rooted ethnic tensions between indigenous Sindhis and Muhajirs, immigrants who came from India after Pakistan was created as a Muslim state in 1947, have led to hundreds of deaths in recent months. And Isiah Khan gave the new army leaders sweeping emergency powers to curb ethnic tensions, yet officials said that those actions revealed the president's bias. Decided Bhutto is a statement: "The partisan and blatant nature of these steps clearly betrays the general plan, which is to deny the 70 per cent of the population in the 70 per cent of the country the right to the future," she added. "I would like to

ry," he said, "we are confident that the people will reject those responsible for inflicting 18 months of suffering on the nation."

Franchise time that she took office in December, 1983, Bhutta, 37, a Harvard- and Oxford-educated political scientist, has struggled with the legacy of Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (d. 1977). Zia overthrew her father, populist Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutta, in a military coup and imposed martial law. Two years later, despite international calls for clemency, Zia had Bhutta hanged. Because Bhutta himself endured six years of house arrest and imprisonment, then went into self-imposed exile

years later, vowing to lead her father's FFR to victory in free elections and to restore democracy. Three months after Zia's death in a mysterious plane crash in August, 1988, the FFR triumphed in the November polls, winning more seats in the National Assembly than any other party—although not a majority.

But despite the apparent return to democracy, analysts say that the military, which has ruled Panama for 25 of its 43 years since independence in 1947, continues to play a powerful, behind-the-scenes political role. In recent months, senior army officers have sought legal authority in San Jose to arrest and interrogate suspects and to establish their own military courts rather than rely on lengthy civil procedures that they claim slow criminals to justice through political connections. That has been staunchly resisted such changes. And before leaving the capital with her children last week for her home

Karachi, "to let the dust settle," as she put it. Bhutto openly accused the army of organizing her downfall. "It had been planned very well and for a very long time," she said. "I am clear in my mind that this action was a quasi-military intervention."

From the start, Bhutto's unpopularity among devoutly Hindu obstacles. Led by a Western-educated woman in a male-dominated Islamic country, it was hamstrung by a Senate dominated by conservative Hindu logicians. Last November, Bhutto's government, besieged by opposition charges of bribery, narrowly saved a reconstituted nation at the National Assembly. As well, opposition leaders frequently attempted to discredit the prime minister by making accusations of corruption against her wealthy husband, Karachi businessman Asif Ali Zardari, whom she had married in 1986. Bhutto's government has the state's largest army, but Karachi police last week revealed a strategy to inform them whenever he leaves the family mansion, Bait-us-Salam.

Last week, *Alamy* accused *Alamy* of paying illegal "inducement" to obtain parliamentary and other political support. He also accused her of having ridiculed the national judiciary and the Senate, as well as having "viciously calumniated and impugned" private citizens.

At a news conference blacked out by state-run television, Bhutto denied the accusations. Even her supporters, however, acknowledge that the shortcomings of her administration contributed to her downfall. After 11 years of military-dominated government under Zia, Bhutto came to power with promises of a re-

era of improved civil and human rights. But the government did not repeal Islamic ordinances that restrict women's rights, nor did it introduce any major legislative programs. In fact, she spent her early months in office vainly trying to dislodge Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif and his opposition government in Punjab, Pakistan's most populous province. Sharif, who in her most outspoken mood, is now considered to be a contender for prime minister in the October elections.

her main opposition was the military, which she claimed last week "had made every effort to subvert my government." In fact, a coup by military officers failed last September after U.S. Embassy officials uncovered the plan.

According to some observers, the recent upsurge in ethnic and political violence in Sri Lanka is but the pretext for disempowering Eeludo, who has been leading with the military over its demands for judicial powers to control the uprisings. And this timing was judicious, facing the potential outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf last week, most world leaders were too preoccupied to pay serious attention to Pakistan's domestic problems. But they may be far more focused on the situation if the president tries to go west. Eeludo faces racism in elections in the fall.

ANDREW BILSKI with EATON KWAN
vs. *Estimated*

World Notes

A LINGUISTIC BATTLE

Four West African nations, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Guinea, agreed to send about 2,400 troops to neighbouring Liberia to try to stop its seven-month-old civil war. Meanwhile, intense fighting continued around Monrovia, the capital, as two guerrilla factions battled government forces loyal to beleaguered President Samuel Doe.

YOUNG LOVES IN GEORGIA

ally defeated former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young as Georgia's Democratic run-off election, frustrating Young's bid to become the southern state's first black governor. Miller's campaign, in which he pledged to create a lottery, exempt law from the state sales tax and set up military-style boot camps for drug offenders, won him the support of both white and black voters. Miller, 44, will face Republican state Representative Johnny Isakson in the November general election.

COLOMBIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT

The day before his inauguration as Cambodia's president, 43-year-old Outh Chhun named a left-wing former guerrilla to his health minister. Analysts said that Goun's appointment of Antonio Navarro was an attempt to heal the wounds caused by the rebel M-19 movement's nearly 20-year guerrilla war against the government.

A RETURN TO EARTH

After a six-month mission in space, two Soviet cosmonauts made a profitable return to Earth. Aboard the orbiting space station Mir, they produced 53 pure crystals of semiconductor and computer chips, worth about \$29 million. Crystals grown in the zero-gravity environment of space tend to have fewer imperfections than those produced on Earth. The crystals are sliced into thin sheets and etched to create tiny circuits, or semiconductors, with maximum conductivity.

RECEIVED: 1998.05.04, REVISED: 1998.05.21

Provincially owned public transportation and closed shops and factories in an angry protest against President Alberto Fujimori's economic austerity plan. Imposed on Aug. 8, the plan increased gasoline prices by more than 2,000 per cent and substantially raised the cost of such household staples as sugar and rice. Fujimori, who took office on July 28, maintained that the measures were necessary to replenish the state's coffers, left bare by the outgoing, free-spending president, Alan Garcia.

SOUTH AFRICA

Turning towards peace

After 29 years, the ANC declares a ceasefire

The two most powerful arms in South African politics emerged red-eyed and weary from four 24-hour negotiating sessions, but they were visibly elated. First,

Nelson Mandela delivered a post-midnight news conference of what he called "a very serious ceasefire"—the African National Congress (ANC) was suspending its 29-year-old

guerrilla war as a prelude to talks on a new, national, democratic constitution for South Africa. Then, President F. W. de Klerk, smiling broadly, announced that his white-minority government would release up to 1,000 political prisoners, pardon about 22,000 exiled dissidents and renounce efforts to overthrow white rule. In a joint statement, the two leaders declared, "We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

The historic pact, known as the Pretoria Minute, was the first official declaration of ceasefire in South Africa's racial conflict since the end of apartheid in 1994. The South African government, led by President F. W. de Klerk, had been under attack by the ANC, which had been active in the country since 1961. But black and white extremists immediately attacked the accord, saying that they would not observe a ceasefire to which they had not agreed. And some ANC radicals claimed that even that group's leadership would have difficulty enforcing the order on its rank and file. Certainly, there was no letup in factional fighting between ANC supporters and the Inkatha movement in Natal province, where more than 4,000 have died. Elsewhere in the country, five days of rioting killed at least 40 people in the coastal city of Port Elizabeth and 11 more in the township of Kagiso, 70 km west of Johannesburg. Said a Pretoria-based diplomat, on condition of anonymity: "Peace pacts between the government and the ANC at the top level are one thing, but ending the violence on the ground will be another."

If the ceasefire can be enforced, however, it would remove the largest and most effective black guerrilla group from the fray. Spear of the Nation has about 8,000 combatants, armed with Soviet and East German weapons, based inside and outside South Africa. Although they have never come close to toppling the Pretoria government, the insurgents have managed to sustain a low-grade urban terrorist campaign. Most of their bombing and shooting attacks have been aimed at police stations and other government buildings, but they have occasionally struck so-called soft targets, including crowded movie theaters and shopping malls. Guerrillas infiltrating from neighboring black states have also mined main border routes. Mandela has now pledged that there will be "no infiltration of arms and arms into South Africa" and that any military action must "be supported by a credible effect." However, the 72-year-old ANC deputy president made it clear that what he called "mass action," or protest against apartheid, would continue.

The ANC seems to have conceded more than the government. In Klerk had been wanting to see an end to hostilities since he freed Mandela last February after more than 27 years' imprisonment. But the ANC had consistently refused to give up armed struggle until Pretoria rescinded the 1962 Internal Security Act, particularly the provision that permits indefinite detention without trial. There is no such commitment in the new agreement. In fact, de Klerk has only lifted a nearly four-year-old

state of emergency in those provinces (KwaZulu-Natal, Natal and the Orange Free State) that the Pretoria Minute only so "renew" certain provisions of the security act. Mandela himself renewed his criticism of the police, whom he accused of mistreating blacks. "Until the government tames the police," he declared, "we will continue to be dissatisfied."

In the black townships, senior ANC officials carefully portrayed the pact as one in which there were no winners or losers. Walter Shaba, a fellow political prisoner and longtime associate of Mandela, said that although the two sides had stopped firing at each other, "it does not mean the end of the armed struggle." That he added, "in quite a different sense, which will be settled when we reach the point of no return"—ensuring a final political settlement. Jan Sluis, general secretary of the South African Communist Party and one of only two whites in the ANC hierarchy, added that the government does not owe up to its role of the bargain. Sluis also called for continued protest within the country and international economic sanctions to maintain pressure on Pretoria.

As well, ANC militants complained about what they called capitulation by their leaders. One said that most military commanders in Spear of the Nation and many of the ANC's younger members, particularly in Natal, opposed the ceasefire. The so-called African Youth Congress, the country's largest black youth organization, said that the ceasefire was not justified because of continued police brutality. It issued a statement calling for a continuation of the anti-apartheid struggle "on all fronts." The radical Pan Africanist Congress, which broke away from the ANC in 1969 and later pursued its own military campaign, also announced that it would continue the campaign because it had not been a party to the talks.

The reaction from right-wing whites was equally venomous. Andries Treurnicht, head of the opposition Conservative party, called the agreement "interracial and illegal." And Elnor van Maritz, a well-known proponent of the extreme neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, said that his group is "mobilizing our forces" to prevent a Communist takeover.

Against that backdrop of threats, Mandela and de Klerk will have to move on to the next hurdle in their quest for peace: how to give the 25-million black majority the vote without robbing the five-million white minority of its rights. Said David Maki, a political scientist at the University of Cape Town: "There is a clear-cut and possibly quite serious conflict between the ANC and the government on this." He added, "The ANC wants universal suffrage elections for a constituent assembly which will draft the new constitution. The government says that this procedure begs the question of how to protect minorities." Sluis said it is the ceasefire that has improved the climate for resolving that profound issue.

RODGER JENSEN with CHRIS BRAMMER
in Cape Town



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THE WINDS OF WAR

PRESIDENT BUSH PLACES A HEROIC GLOSS ON HIS BOLD AND RISKY MIDEAST GAMBLE

The rhetoric sounded the drum roll of a descent and a simpler time. As President George Bush announced the deployment of 50,000 American troops to Saudi Arabia last week, he reached back had a century to draw on the language of historical imperatives: "Arabian Nights," "Agamemnon." His buzz words were crowded, never directly comparing Iraq President Saddam Hussein's Aug. 2 takeover of Kuwait to Adolf Hitler's invasion of Nazi Germany's neighbors at the outset of the Second World War. But, in his third address to the nation in less than two years, Bush's message was clear.

By invoking the memories of America's Second World War role as a global liberator, he sought, in part, to check his intervention in a far-off regional oil conflict with a heroic and universal gloss. But, in doing so, he was also trying the ideological groundwork to mount long-term support for the boldness, and riskier, foreign-policy gamble of his or any other recent presidency—a military increase that could ultimately make dangerously, both at home and in the tense Middle East (page 20).

Indeed, as thousands of crack U.S. paratroopers from the 82nd Airborne Division poured into Saudi Arabia for what the Pentagon called Operation Desert Storm, the largest American military buildup since the Vietnam War, it soon became clear that Bush's invoca-

tions of the Allied battle against Hitler were partly a public relations weapon to launch other, more recent, and more troubling, memories. Chief among them the country's disastrous and divisive foray into the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Last week, members were these reminders were evoked then on Capitol Hill. After displaying almost unprecedented solidarity with Bush, many congressmen also made it clear that there were limits to their enthusiasm for a protracted military entanglement that might resemble the fading Vietnam nightmare: the fear of another generation of U.S. soldiers helplessly caught in a political quagmire on another strange and hostile foreign shore. As Senate foreign relations committee chairman Claiborne Pell, a Rhode Island Democrat, pointed out, his constituents wanted to "see some action, but people don't want to see a full-scale conflict."

Agreed California Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. "I hope we won't be the Laos



Ringer the way we were in Vietnam."

Still, the conflict showed its signs of becoming less explosive last week as Bush welcomed the Oval Office telephone in his trademark foreign-policy style, relayed to by *The Wall Street Journal's* "Diplomat for Diplomacy." By week's end, what Bush described as his "unparalleled international consultation" had yielded him an Arab League military consent to reinforce U.S. peacekeeping efforts in the Gulf and the two most overwhelmingly supportive voices in Washington's recent embattled history with the United Nations. The 15-member Security Council not only unanimously declared Hussein's annexation of Kuwait "null and void" but also offered the novel spectacle of the post-1945 Soviet Union supporting Washington in condemning the very peak strongman whom it had so lavishly aided during his eight-year war with Iran.

But, despite that portrait of a newly reinvigorated superpower relationship, the Kuwait crisis revived reminders of a more traditional American dilemma. Last month, as the leaders of the beleaguered West met for their annual economic summit in Houston, analysts discussed America's waning influence in a rapidly changing world of new power blocs. But that deeply crisis was suddenly overshadowed by Washington's leap into its familiar—but controversial—role as global policeman. Indeed, conservative commentator Ben Wattenberg took personal comfort in that fact. Wrote Wattenberg in *The Washington Times*: "Let's thank Mr. Bush for ending that stuff about America not being No. 1. In this worldwide crisis going to be solved by energetic Japanese or unified Germany?"

Bush (opposite) friends and family in Florida see off U.S. aircraft carrier *Saratoga*; Bushs an American enthusiasm

At home, after the overwhelming initial public support for Bush, politicians began discussing ominous undercurrents of unease. A Washington Post/ABC TV poll showed that 74 percent of respondents backed the U.S. military intervention. But the *Post* went on to report an underlying reaction: "a mix of skepticism, frustration, confusion and outright fear." Among these, surveys, 60 per cent said that they believed that the confrontation would lead to a U.S. drag war, and 66 per cent voiced a conviction that it would harm the already-contracting U.S. economy. As predictions of another crippling economic recession took on new tones of

certainty, anxiety subtly displaced chest-thumping patriotic pride.

Gone were signs of the unadorned self-congratulations that surfaced when President Ronald Reagan overhauled a handful of Massachusetts' tiny Caribbean island of Grenada with 7,000 U.S. shock troops' general progress—or when Bush evaded Persian Gulf Desert to overthrow Manuel Noriega. One reason was clearly that, this time, Bush was confronting an opponent of formidable proportions. Not only does Hussein have the largest force in the Middle East, a million-man army based to deadly efficiency by its war with Iraq, but he also commands one of the world's most feared arsenals and has no moral compunctions about using his stockpile of chemical weapons.

Like that very strength promised no easy exits for Bush from the Middle East. And for many Americans, it raised the specter of America's humiliating impotence against far-aching losses intrinsically during the two energy and hostage crises of 1979. Those events had forced the country into a stark recognition of its own economic and military vulnerability—and led to President Jimmy Carter's grossmanner defeat a year later. And last week, Bush's aides acknowledged the fact that Carter's perceived mistakes had inspired much of the President's

aggressive decision to challenge Hussein with a major flexing of U.S. military muscle and with what he called "a last-drawn-in-the-sand."

Still, for the second time in slightly more than a decade, the United States found itself caught in the complex and time-consuming crosscurrents of the Persian Gulf—a region that proved the undoing of Carter and crippled Reagan's presidency, and one where not all factions condemned Hussein (page 27). And for the second time as well, Washington had found itself caught by surprise—not because of the future of its intelligence, but because its President had ignored its warnings in favor of his personal diplomatic style. Indeed, the weaknesses of Bush's *Diplomat for Diplomacy* were underlined by his acknowledgment that he had relied on Arab reassurances from Hussein that Hussein would not invade Kuwait.

But now, in the wake of his swift and stunning reaction, Bush faces his most daunting challenge. As one Washington observer pointed out, the true test of a president is not how he reacts to a crisis but how he prevents one from occurring. And over the coming weeks, Bush must prove that, in calling forth the metaphors of the last world war, his rhetoric does not in fact prove prophetic.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington





COVER

OPERATION DESERT SHIELD

A MILITARY BUILDUP ISOLATES IRAQ

For America's Operation Desert Shield, the support of other nations was crucial. Last week, as swift successes, countries as varied as Canada, Egypt and Argentina ordered ships and men to the Persian Gulf, where the advance guard of 50,000 U.S. troops were taking up positions to defend Saudi Arabia. In a tense standoff, the Americans, backed by three month-old troops, faced 130,000 men of the one-million-strong army of Iraq, which invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2. And participation by 30 Baghdad's trade treaty allies, as well as a number of Arab states, was welcome for both strategic and diplomatic reasons. By the weekend, as battle-ready warplanes crisscrossed the desert skies, that united display appeared to have dissuaded Iraq's overconfidence. Henceforth from any intention to expand his overseas and the Gulf's oilfields of Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, U.S. officials expressed concern over reports that Iraqi troops were leaving Kuwait as Kuwait—and President George Bush said that he had a special responsibility to protect American lives.

A long, costly and exhausting war of diplomatic and economic attrition seemed to be taking shape. In that struggle, the Iraqis drew their determination to consolidate his gains as

Kuwait will come up against the resolve of the industrialized world, led by the United States, to maintain a United Nations-mandated economic boycott against Iraq. But if a lengthy standoff does, in fact, develop, the military situation will remain dangerously volatile. Hussein's strengthened his invasion force in Kuwait late last week, sending in an estimated 50,000 troops to join the 120,000 already in place. At the same time, an estimated 50,000 U.S. troops and scores of combat aircraft were either in the region or on their way to it. And a division of 50 warships, most of them American, but also including two Canadian destroyers and a supply ship, was moving into position. With so much force concentrated in the region, a spark could set off a firestorm.

Saudi: As a meeting earlier avoided the U.S. advance guard. 300 Arab leaders met in Cairo in an unsuccessful last-minute attempt to persuade Baghdad's Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. A majority condemned the occupation and voted to send a pen-Arab force to protect Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states from Iraq. Twelve delegations voted in favor of the motion. Iraq, Libya and the Palestinian Liberation Organization opposed it, while Algeria and Yemen abstained and Jordan, Morocco

and Sudan expressed reservations. Indeed, Jordan's King Hussein said lately that his troops would only join an all-Arab army if it replaced U.S. and other non-Arab forces. He warned that if the non-Arab forces were to desert, "they are going to react very severely throughout the whole Arab world" and "American interests everywhere would be subject to danger." Meanwhile, thousands of foreigners, among them an unknown number of Canadians, were trapped in Iraq and Kuwait as potential hostages. And Baghdad threatened to use its arsenal of chemical and nerve gases if attacked. In Ottawa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced that the destroyers Albatross and Terra Nova and the supply ship Protector would leave soon for the Gulf. He described Saddam Hussein as "a criminal of historic significance" who had "used chemical weapons on his own people," the country's Kurdish minority. Later, defense department officials said that the ship, with a total crew of 500, including more than 25 women, will be ready to leave in about two weeks. They will conduct sea-lane control and surveillance duties in the Gulf of Oman, south of the Persian Gulf, and will be in position by mid-September.

In Baghdad, meanwhile, Iraq's Hussein did

his best to sabotage the Cairo summit. While it was still in session last Friday, he appealed to the people of the Arab world to join him in what he called a "holy war" against U.S. forces in the area. Hussein called the "true believers" to join against gun men who had "desecrated Arab lands" by co-opting with the West. He urged the Arab people to "stop the foreign troops from passing through the [Saudi] Canal" on its way to the Gulf. That statement was clearly aimed at Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who had condemned Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and had spearheaded Iraq's attempt to organize a pan-Arab force to go to the Gulf.

Hussein has long opposed Mubarak for his dependence on U.S. military and economic assistance and his country's 1979 peace treaty with Israel. And in his statement on Aug. 10, Hussein tried to exploit long-standing Arab grievances against Israel. He referred to the intifada, which is what the Palestinians call their ongoing uprising here, and applied it to his occupation of Kuwait. Involuntarily, the English translation is "shaking off," and Hussein implied that, by depressing Iraq's conservative ruling family, he had discarded Western influence. He also claimed to be acting in the interests of Islam, demanding that true believers protect Saudi Arabia's Mecca holy places from the "American and Zionist."

Reacts: His remarks were part of a development propaganda offensive, linking U.S. intervention to Israeli expansionism, by which Hussein hopes to win future support in the Arab world. Earlier last week, in fact, he claimed that Israel was plotting to use Iraq's airbases in preparation for an attack on Iraq. Denouncing that allegation, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that, if Hussein were preparing to attack Israel, he would "bring heavy disaster upon himself."

Still, Israeli leaders were clearly concerned about Hussein's ability to attack its population centers with long-range missiles armed with chemical warheads. In response to that threat, the Jewish state began strengthening its air defenses. The Israelis also staged a successful demonstration of a new air defense system, known as the Arrowhead designed, when operational, to intercept incoming missiles. In an interview with Middle East's deputy chief, Benjamin Netanyahu, who stated that Israel would respond with nuclear weapons to a chemical attack, and that his country will not be the first "to introduce nuclear weapons to the Middle East." But he added, "Saddam Hussein knows that we have

every means available to defend ourselves."

The possible use of biochemical weapons obviously concerned the Americans as well. President George Bush said that such a development would be "intolerable." Added Bush, "It would be dealt with very, very severely." Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that American troops would be fully protected by special clothing and medical antibiotics. But, as military experts pointed out, that clothing, consisting of a double-layered synthetic filter vest, a tentatively sealed mask, rubber gloves, boots and a hood covering the head and shoulders, is useful even in casual temperatures in desert conditions, where temperatures routinely reach 60°C (120°F), soldiers wearing the equipment would be incapable

of escaping a different loss. Their governments refrained from describing them as hostages for fear of aggravating their situation. But it seemed clear that Hussein, by refusing to allow Westerners other than diplomats and their families to leave, was creating a bargaining chip to be used when the time was ripe. An estimated 1,800 of the stranded expatriates are British and 3,500 are Americans, mostly of industry consultants. Involuntarily and indirectly, about 550 Canadian citizens are registered with the embassies in Baghdad and Kuwait City. One of the stranded Canadians, Graham Perrow, a 48-year-old electronics and father of two from Edmonton, was working on a remote oil-drilling site in Kuwait when Iraqi soldiers detained him and other foreigners and sent them under escort to Baghdad. There,



Royal Saudi Air Force jets (top) and U.S. military cadets training for chemical warfare (bottom) threatened to take out the arsenal of chemical and nerve gases if a shooting war began.

of sustained combat, most experts said. Chemical warfare was only one of the potential hazards confronting the troops as they dug in to defensive positions near the Saudi Kuwait frontier, around vital oil installations and on the perimeters of the airfields where U.S. jet fighters and ground-based planes are based. Despite regular exercises at the heart of California's Mojave Desert, the U.S. troops would find it difficult to withstand the Saudi heat in prolonged combat. They will live in tents and other makeshift accommodations without air conditioning. And some of their advanced tactical hardware may malfunction in direct sand penetrations and possible laser visual parts and heat-sense detectors impair optical equipment.

Meanwhile, the thousands of Westerners trapped inside Kuwait and Iraq faced hardships

officials carried him over to the Canadian Embassy. But he was not allowed to leave the country and, as he said in a television interview, "it doesn't look too good right now." External Affairs spokesman Mark Edmister said of the stranded Canadians: "It would be premature to call them hostages. Their safety is paramount, so we don't want to get into a war of semantics with the Iraqis."

Rape: Many of the foreigners who managed to get out of Kuwait before the Iraqi soldiers looted the facilities described murder, rape, including by Iraqi soldiers. Said a Saudi-Kuwait businessman who escaped into Jordan last Thursday, "There are killing centers and rape camps." He added that he had heard of Filipino women, who are frequently employed as housework, were being raped, being raped by Iraqi soldiers that British Steven Mann, who left Kuwait

THE PRICE OF PEACE

A PROLONGED OIL EMBARGO WILL BE COSTLY

The economic responses that ultimately may prove more successful than jet fighters in bringing Iraq President Saddam Hussein to his knees may also hamper the economies of the West. Supported by a United Nations Security Council resolution to prohibit the import or export of "all petroleum and petroleum products" from Iraq and Kuwait last Monday, countries around the world declared a full trade embargo against Iraq, cutting off its vital oil exports and refusing to supply it with grain and other critical supplies, including weapons and spare parts. So far, the impact of the economic oiler pincer on Iraq following its invasion of Kuwait remains unclear. In its last week, Hussein resumed debate, calling the economic sanctions an act of war. And while some analysts predicted that Iraq would be severely weakened by a sustained economic squeeze, others cautioned that the desert nation has long been making preparations for such an embargo, including

stockpiling a six-month food supply.

Still, as the week progressed, the boycott gained momentum. Major oil-producing countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Venezuela, said that they will increase production to replace Iraq and Kuwait's 4.6 million barrels a day, 6.9 per cent of world production. Even Jordan's King Hussein, who at first supported the invasion, said that he would take part in the embargo.

Fear: Leaders of the boycotting countries clearly hope to force Iraq to withdraw without any further bloodshed, but they also fear that they may have to pay a heavy economic price for their efforts. The uncertainty over supplies has already caused wild gyrations in prices. In the resulting confusion, there has been, however, one clear—and potentially devastating—impact of the boycott: prices at gasoline pumps throughout the United States have gone up, in some cases dramatically. And prices in Canada are also expected to increase

in the coming months. For many countries teetering on the edge of recession, the price increases were serious setbacks. Last week, the price of benchmark West Texas Intermediate Crude rose to its four-year high of \$28.35 (25¢) on Aug. 7, compared with an average price in the first six months of this year of \$24.50, before dropping back to \$25.96 on Aug. 8 and closing the week at \$26.23.

At the same time, investors, concerned that higher prices would hurt inflation and lead to higher interest rates, dumped stock markets, sending stocks down sharply and then pushing them upward again by week's end as an uneasy calm settled over the desert conflicts. The Canadian and U.S. dollars shot upward, indicating that serious foreign-exchange traders were sending oil currencies that they consider safe as signs of global turmoil. Said Robert Bous, an economist with Toronto-based securities dealer Desautel Bantley: "Oil prices between \$25 and \$28 almost ensure a recession in the economic climate. These prices take a lot of money out of the economy."

In the United States, the impact of the crisis on consumers will be immediate. Within hours of the Kuwait invasion, U.S. drivers saw gas prices jump by as much as 15 cents per gallon, and, as the end of last week, U.S. gas prices in some areas had increased by almost 25 cents per gallon. In Canada, William Brown, president of Sun Petroleum Canada, said prices will not rise dramatically until enough supplies of oil purchased before the invasion are depleted.

In the United States, after President George Bush called on the oil companies to avoid opportunistic increases, some companies rolled back prices by up to four cents a gallon. Still, prices remained higher than they were before the crisis, and politicians accused the oil companies of price gouging and called on governments to take remedial action.

Decline: Skimping on Canadian grain farmers, who are already suffering the aftereffects of three droughts in recent years and a decline in the world price of grain, were facing the loss of their third-largest customer. Canada will almost \$300 million worth of grain to Iraq annually, and there were no immediate indications for the instant supplies, some of which was sitting on docks in Vancouver. While Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has not ruled out the possibility of compensation, he declined last week to commit the federal government to a bailout of grain farmers.

While the world watched the next move from the unpredictable Russians, Saudi Arabia's decision to increase the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia had positive effects on oil supplies. Saudi Arabia is the largest oil producer of all the oil-rich countries, producing 6.1 million barrels a day, and many oil traders were fearful that Iraq's next step would be to push into the nearby western kingdom. But the movement of the U.S. Third Airborne Division and fleets of F-15 fighters off to the Persian Gulf almost immediately helped stabilize supplies. Saudi Arabia responded to the American military aid by announcing that it would increase production by two million barrels a day, making up almost 44 per cent of the shortfall created by the boycott of Iraq and Kuwait. The announcement by other OPEC members that they, too, would stop production also helped to stabilize economies about sufficient supplies.

The OPEC decision is critical in maintaining world oil market stability. Nearly every major country imports some of the world's oil and, like the United States, is highly dependent on its output. Indeed, U.S. oil

imports amount to 36.9 per cent of its consumption. By comparison, West Germany imports 33.5 per cent of its oil from OPEC countries, and Japan roughly 72.34 per cent of its needs. In contrast, Canada is net exporter of oil, exports only 500,000 barrels a day of crude oil, which prior to the embargo yielded 16,000 barrels a day from Iraq. Federal officials said that Iraq's supplies, required to serve remote Canadian markets, which are not connected to the pipelines that ship western Canadian oil, could be easily replaced from other OPEC sources.

Even without Iraq and Kuwait's production most analysts say that other OPEC countries have enough uncommitted capacity to make up the shortfall. "Total world oil demand outside of the centrally planned economies is about 51.6 million barrels per day, and, of that amount, OPEC supplies about 45 per cent. Analysts say that the 4.6 million barrels a day produced by Iraq and Kuwait could be almost fully replaced, for the short term at least, by Saudi Arabia and OPEC countries outside the Persian Gulf, including Venezuela, Nigeria and Libya. Said Michael Gerts, non-governmental chief economist at the American Petroleum Institute in Washington: "Potentially, all the other OPEC producers

could use the 600 million barrels in the OPEC strategic petroleum reserve that can be released into the market for only a few months at the rate of three million barrels a day, about 18 per cent of daily consumption."

Still, oil prices could surge this winter when colder weather pushes world demand for OPEC crude oil up to an estimated 38.5 million barrels per day, well above expected production levels of the boycott countries. As a result, Richard Carl, senior oil-and-gas analyst with Toronto-based Loyd's Goudie McEachern & Co. Ltd., predicts that the last three months of the year could be the most difficult for consumers. Said Carl: "If Hussein has not been supplied by then, there could be serious price increases." According to Carl, however, rationing of crude-oil supplies is possible but unlikely in Canada, which "Production will be made up from other countries, and there are at least 75 days of stockpiles. Unless Saudi Arabia is bombed, there is no real need for rationing."

And Michael Beal, director general of the oil-and-gas branch at the federal department of Energy, noted that the government has been seized by the oil industry that supplies are scarce for the next three to six months. According to Beal, the government is not considering rationing. Instead, Beal says, members of the International Energy Program, meeting in Paris last week, announced that no emergency was imminent and that the Iraq and Kuwait shortfall would be made up with other sources. Beal: "We're monitoring supply and price on an ongoing basis." Through informal talks with oil company executives, Beal has been assured that the industry will only make justified increases in prices.

Oil: But consumers in Ontario and the Maritimes could see gasoline price hikes before other parts of the country. Canada's oil refineries on the East Coast region receive supplies from refineries using imported oil, which has become more expensive. As well, Robert Allen, vice-president of Cargill Petroleum in Ontario, said that he received notice last week from major refiners that his wholesale purchase price for oil will go up two cents per litre. And Allen expects costs that escalate again when more expensive, \$28-a-barrel crude is processed through the system to meet a particular turn. While major gasoline retailers, such as Petro-Canada, have yet to raise their prices, independent independents such as Cungs have no choice but to pass on the higher prices. Said



Saudi Arabian oilfield (opposite) oil futures traders in New York City. It's a triple whammy for the Canadian economy.

can make up almost all the shortfall if they produce at full capacity. If that happens, the impact on world markets will be relatively slight."

Some countries have also offered oil markets by announcing that, if the crisis deepens, they would draw on their government-owned supplies of crude. Although Canada does not own large stocks of a strategic reserve because it is a net exporter, Coen said that there are about one billion barrels available in government-controlled stockpiles around the world. That is

THE OIL CRISIS COULD MAKE A WESTERN RECESSION UNAVOIDABLE

Albeit "The two-cent increase has to be passed on—or you eat it. You cannot take 6 million barrels of oil off the market without paying higher prices."

Meanwhile, Ontario Energy Minister Lyn McLeod assured the president and non-presidents of Petro-Canada Services Inc., from Petro-Canada's mid-1990 Canada Ltd. to the Toronto office at week's end, where she voiced the province's concerns that prices remain stable. The major oil producers raised McLeod that there was no supply problem in Ontario, and the energy minister says that she is satisfied that oil companies are not using it. McLeod cites as an excuse to hike gasoline prices. And in Ottawa, McLeod told reporters: "We're very concerned that nobody take advantage of the present situation to artificially and unfairly escalate the price of petroleum products. That always motivated very considerably by the government."

But in oil-rich Alberta, there are only caution signs of optimism. A decade of up-and-down economic booms has made many oil-conscious, and most are waiting to see if the price of oil remains at \$18 or more before starting spending on new oil wells or on megaprojects. But Norman Gosh, president of Nova-Canada Oil Ltd. of Calgary: "It will be three months at least, and probably closer to six before anyone changes spending plans."

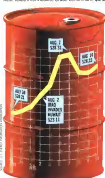
Severe: Still, if serious shortages should develop, Canada would have to start its oil imports with the United States and other Western nations under two different licenses. Under the International Energy Agency agreement, for one, signed by Canada and 21 other Western countries in 2001, oil companies pledged to share and raise oil supplies during periods of prolonged shortages. But, as an emergency agency working in Paris last week, delegates decided that the current situation is not serious enough to trigger the treaty provisions. And under the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, Canada is prohibited from raising oil exports to that country—any more than million barrels a day over 20 per cent of U.S. consumption—a most domestic needs unless it can domestic consumption by the same proportion.

Beyond the immediate crisis, the Middle Eastern conflict dominated with tightening energy flows and skyrocketing many world economies have become. Economic conditions and the United States, which are already fighting rising unemployment and slowing growth, the economic oil price rise is direct, two-pronged assault on their fragile economic health. Rising oil prices spark inflation by pushing up the cost of commodities used in many of them. These include not only gasoline, home-heating oil and jet fuel, but plastics, synthetic fibers and rubber products as well.

Indeed, these are five products not affected by an increase in the price of a barrel of oil. At the same time, higher oil prices take billions of dollars out of the economy, reducing spending by consumers and business, and increasing the chance of a severe economic downturn. The Petroleum Institute's Casey estimates that oil prices climb \$5 over a one-year period, and the United States continues to import about three billion barrels of oil annually, the result will be equivalent to a \$24 billion tax increase.

OIL'S VOLATILE PRICE

West Texas Intermediate Crude benchmark \$US



The same statistics would cost the Canadian economy between \$2 billion and \$3 billion, partly because Canada imports only about 500,000 barrels of oil per day. But according to Deane Barclay's Box, the amount is significant because of Canada's expanding economy. He said that oil prices rose between \$25 and \$27 a barrel for five to six months, the consumer price index in Canada could jump by 1.5 percentage points, to just under six per cent. In addition, he says that growth could fall by one full percentage point, least under recovery in 1991. Added Box: "The impact is much worse now for the average person than it would have been two years

ago, when the economy was robust." In addition, a recession in the United States could greatly accelerate the pace of Canada's downward spiral. 70 per cent of Canada's exports are sold to the United States and, in 1996, oil exports accounted for \$1.8 billion of Canada's \$18.1 billion gross domestic product. Said Douglas Peters, chief economist for the Toronto-Dominion Bank: "They lose our goods, and if they fall, we could follow."

Canada's soaring dollar is making it even more difficult to export to the United States. The dollar, already high because of attractive Canadian interest rates, is being pushed even higher by foreign investors in Canada because its economy is more protected than others thanks to its vast domestic oil supplies. Indeed, the dollar's new status as a so-called petrodollar pushed the currency to a 10-year high last week of \$7.25 cents to U.S. It is likely to move even higher because of the added thrust of increased inflation. Said Box: "With high oil prices, high interest rates and a high dollar, it's a triple whammy for the Canadian economy."

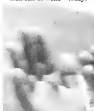
Difficult: For the Canadian airline industry especially, the oil price increases are critically important. Fuel costs account for between 12 per cent and 15 per cent of the airlines' total expenditures. But Canadian carriers, which have already announced fare hikes, face price increases of about eight per cent this year, have little room to raise fares further. A faltering economy has already resulted in lower passenger levels, and higher prices could lead to even greater declines. Said Ellis Brown, an airline industry analyst at Toronto securities dealer Richardson Greenwald & Ltd.: "The rise in oil prices cannot good news at a time when traffic is falling." And airlines are the highly competitive U.S. airline sector could face a more difficult future. Indeed, some analysts suggest that continued hikes in jet-fuel prices could push a number of airlines into bankruptcy.

Despite the mounting costs—and the accompanying losses—caused by the ongoing world leaders such as Bush and Malraux say that the price of oil is deflating. Said Brown: "It will be the price. And in the long term, added Judith Kuper of the Washington-based Brookings Institution, the negative consequences of allowing Russia to remain in Kuwait for another week could be the oil embargo to other countries. Other analysts, however, warn that Russia's determination is likely to prolong the economic and military standoff for as long as a year. If that occurs, the embargo of Iraq may become an even more serious test of the world's willingness to pay for the convenient resource of global conflict.

PERCIVAL CHESBROUGH and TOM PENNELL with MICHAEL HARRISON in Toronto

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Eugé André Galarneau sliding into third at Montreal's Olympic Stadium: "Focusing on the need to do something"

BUSINESS

THE FAT LADY SINGS

Charles Bronfman, the illustrious equity owner of the Montreal Expos, leads one of his own long-standing baseball clubs last week. He tossed in a radio broadcast of a baseball game. He joined with marketing chiefs as the Expos looked up a radio square in the 12th inning of a critical encounter with the Pittsburgh Pirates. He paced and roared along as his team went on to lose the match, dropping a full 10 games out of the race for the National League's eastern division championship. "It was terrible," he said the following day. "I'd just had a wonderful dinner with my wife and some friends and it ruined everything. It's my life, never was baseball anyone with a social occasion."

The Expos' frustrating on-field performance is also the main reason why Bronfman, who brought major-league baseball to Canada in 1969, says that he is now determined to get out of the sport, even if it means selling the Expos to a buyer who will move them to the United States. Despite not losing money on the team, he told *Maclean's* last week: "I've had enough. I want to learn to enjoy the game again."

CHARLES BRONFMAN HAS SET A DEADLINE FOR THE SALE OF THE MONTREAL EXPOS TO LOCAL BUYERS

Bronfman's deadline to find a new owner at Montreal by the end of the month has polarized the situation of Quebec politicians and businessmen who say that they are worried about Montreal's image as a major-league city and the potential loss of millions of dollars that the franchise brings in. Declared Quebec Tourism Minister André Vallières, whose reports first appeared in *Maclean's* Sept. 1 deadline: "Losing the team would have an incalculable negative impact on Montreal."

There were times when the Expos made the game worth watching for their owner and fans. From 1979 to 1982, with a roster including perennial all-stars such as catcher Greg Carter and pitcher Steve Rogers, the Expos came tantalizingly close to winning the eastern division several times, only to fall short on most occasions. The year they did win their division, 1981, they lost the National League championship to the Los Angeles Dodgers on a ninth-inning home run. Last year, after tanking three promising young pitchers for superstar pitcher Mark Langston, the Expos lost their division for 41 days but rebounded later in the season and finished in fourth place, 12 games out of first.

Frustrated by the heart-breaking setbacks, Bronfman, the chairman of the Seagram Co. Ltd., and his two minority partners—Montreal businessmen Hugh Halm and Lorne Whitner—are seeking a number of offers to buy their franchise. Various deals are currently being packaged and assessed by Rosen Associates, Claude Brochu and a team of brokers from Bank Corp Ltd. There is apparently no shortage of potential buyers willing to meet Bronfman's minimum asking price of

\$100-million, compared with the \$10.7 million he paid for the club more than two decades ago. For Expos fans in Montreal and the rest of Canada, however, there is a major problem. Most of those offers have come from business and sports groups in the United States, all but three of whom have made it clear that their intention to move the club from Montreal to Buffalo, N.Y., means an end of several other American cities anxious to provide a home for an established franchise.

When Bronfman announced earlier this year that he intended to sell his 75-per-cent stake, he added that he wanted very much to find a local buyer. He also stipulated that the new owners, wherever they might come from, would have to keep the team in Montreal as well as maintain the existing management. But over the course of the year, he has gradually convinced fans that perhaps in the absence of any serious offers from individuals or groups within the province, "My ears have grown very

keen to his offer to work on the project. And Premier Robert Bourque has been driven to take the discussion, leading to widespread speculation that the powerful *Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec*—the crown agency controlling \$31 billion in Quebec pension and retirement funds—might consider playing a role in financing a local initiative to keep the club in Montreal. Said Bronfman: "The situation is looking pretty good now. I think both business concerns as well as officials are focusing on the need to do something."

Exactly what kind of deal might be made remained unclear last week. The real problem was that several minority shareholders would contribute about \$10 million apiece along with a single major investor holding a controlling—or near-controlling—interest. There is also likely to be some form of government participation, although optimism for the major, the province and the *Caisse* are declining to speculate on how this might be structured.

In the interests of both Montreal and the province, there are many compelling arguments for providing a concentrated attempt to keep the ball club where it is. Provincial authorities estimate that the Expos contribute about \$156 million a year to Montreal's economy—directly as the force of taxes and fees and indirectly in related jobs and revenues from concessions, tourism and related activities.

The team also appears to be a fairly sound investment. Annual attendance, while not spectacular, has risen around the 3.8-million mark—a level that is widely regarded as the break-even point for an major-league baseball team. In terms of television audience, the club's figures were better in 1986 than Canada's other baseball teams, the Toronto Blue Jays. Even so, said Claude Brochu of Bronfman's Measurement figures show that the Expos drew a national quarter-hour average of 1,196,200 viewers, compared with 961,500 for the Blue Jays. The club's on-air revenue from the game, concessions and new television contracts make the franchise profitable. While exact figures are not available, Brochu said that the team will earn a profit in excess of \$5 million this year with higher figures targeted for next year.

Even the numbers are not enough to convince the man who first carried major-league baseball north of the border to remain at the helm. "The team has broken my heart," he said. "It's true but absolutely true." He has made it clear that he hopes the new owner is a Montrealer or, at the least, an outsider who will bring the respect of interest in the game of Quebec business but it has also led to government activity on several levels. Montreal Mayor Jean Duceit set about a vacation to



Bronfman (right), manager Mark Rodgers (left)

more streaming to hear from people" he recruited with a real aim.

"Although neither Bronfman nor his team officials will acknowledge the fact, it may well turn into an effort to shake loose Quebec funding that prompted the Expos organization to quietly let it be known earlier this month about the Sept. 1 deadline for new local ownership."

Whether intentional or not, the move has certainly had the desired effect. Not only has it sparked a regional interest in the game of Quebec business but it has also led to government activity on several levels. Montreal Mayor Jean Duceit set about a vacation to

Business Notes

CAMPBELL OUTSIDER

Robert Campbell was not elected as chairman of the panel and was not a company that he founded more than 40 years ago. Campbell, 66, was not invited to the position of chairman and chief executive officer during a board meeting on Friday, a company release stated. The company released minutes from after Campbell requested the purchase of 100,000 U.S. steel shares for \$13 billion in 1986 and 1987. He is being replaced as an interim basis by Robert Dugan, a director of Campbell Corp. since 1975. Campbell is a company director, but the board is searching for a permanent replacement for him.

OUT OF WORK

Canada's unemployment rate in July jumped to 7.4 per cent from 7.0 per cent in June. The latest jobless figures are the highest since January and reflect a continuing decline in manufacturing jobs as well as the economy's difficulty in absorbing students looking for summer jobs.

RUBLES FOR SALE

The Soviet Union announced that, as part of its structural reform in a market economy from a planned economy, it will allow foreign currency exchanges in Moscow and in other major cities in 1991. When the exchanges become operational, the Soviet ruble will become fully convertible.

MILKSHED ROICES

Toronto-based Nelson Breweries and Los Angeles-based InBev, one of the world's largest entertainment businesses, announced that they had formed an equal partnership in Microbrewery Concepts, which will stage, produce and market live concerts in Canada. The value of the deal was not disclosed.

AUTO SALES CLIMAX

Auto sales ended an industry slump when they peaked in July by 8.6 per cent over the same month in 1989. Still, the big Three domestic automakers continued to have market share to foreign manufacturers, who had July sales increases of 6.7 per cent for cars and 15.6 per cent for trucks.

PEWEE'S PLUMMET

Profits at Air Canada fell 56 million in the first six months of 1990 on revenues of \$1.9 billion, down \$19 million on revenues of \$1.76 billion a year ago. The losses: Great Canadian, which was acquired in 1988, reported a "preliminary" first quarter when it was hit with 25-per-cent increases in fuel prices.

BARNEY CANE is Montreal



The inevitability of sovereignty-association

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

French-English relations in this country have always hovered on the edge of crisis, but Canadians could easily assume that our politicians, if not most people for anything else, could at least talk us into the 21st century. That's no longer true, and whether we like it or not the balance of this decade will be spent negotiating a new arrangement between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

This will ultimately require a new Constitution, but if the Meech Lake fiasco taught us anything, it was that constitutions should ensure the binding force of existing customs, instead of being used as weapons to coerce people into changing their attitudes. It is the forthcoming exercise of common-sense, not the use of force, that will lead to a new arrangement with Quebec as a psychological price of an improvement on Jacques Parizeau's last Parti Québécois leader is no proponent. He is a politician for one purpose only—to turn Quebec into an autonomous republic.

Boonass's ultimate offer to English Canada will depend on how useful he believes we can be to Quebec, on what advantages we offer not available under independence. A common currency isn't a bad start because that would require the coordination of monetary and fiscal policies and many other things. "Boonass is in a totally reasonable position right now, since he has become the articulator of Quebec's popular consensus," says Prof. Charles Taylor, a McGill University political scientist close to the situation. "The failure of Meech Lake was not argued to him. There is a good chance that he will maneuver the planned committee hearings on the future of Quebec so they produce something of a federalist option—ones of it will make Meech look like a Sunday school picnic," which, incidentally, it always was.

Taylor is optimistic that a non-independence solution is still possible because he believes that the Meech process reflected an undeniable fringe issue. "Usually, the perception got through to Quebec that English Canada is not a monolith," he points out. "That has trans-

Neither a federalist nor a separatist, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa is in politics to increase the power of his home province

forced the atmosphere in Quebec considerably, because the sense of having been rejected isn't nearly as powerful as it might have been. If English Canada had followed Clyde Wells's lead, we would now be moving to separation with absolute certainty."

By next spring, French Canada will have formulated its demands, and unless English Canada offers a solution on its own, they will be interpreted as revolutionary attacks on the natural order of the Canadian nation. While we can and must exact a price for nonseparation wherever jurisdiction is transferred to Quebec City, the starting point must be recognition that rejection of Meech Lake requires a brand-new pact between us. Whatever the details of that arrangement, it will be some form of sovereignty-association. That's a reasonable label, because even if it sounds like simultaneous virginity and motherhood, it signifies anything we want it to mean.

One of the few historical precedents of sovereignty-association was the making co-ordinators of the Quebec-England Treaty, which made no sense on paper or in reality—but lasted 51 years from 1667 to 1818. The most telling criticism of this hybrid format came from constitutional gaffly Eugene Forsey, who once dismissed sovereignty-association as "a way of saying that you can't have it all, but you can have some negotiable sovereignty-association that you can negotiate some paper, dry water, boiling ice or stationary motion." Maybe, but then this country started in an equally contradictory state, being officially described as "a well-governed colony."

"The key question," says Prof. Taylor, "will be whether Quebec decides it wants to continue electing members to a federal Parliament—or if Ottawa becomes a kind of Brussels, with largely co-ordinating functions. The rest of the country will for the first time have to face the fundamental question of whether Canadian unity should be based on purely individual rights or whether there is a place for collective goals."

"If reality comes down to a decision on that issue, and if the moment there is profound ambivalence about it. Certainly, Quebec will have to be acknowledged as an entity. When I heard Clyde Wells complaining that he was worried Meech Lake's provisions for a distinct society would lead Quebec to special status, I thought, my God, he hasn't seen anything yet."

The country is headed on an inevitable process that will forever alter French-English relations. It's high time we realized that there is nothing sacrosanct about the 147 clauses of the British North America Act. Quebec has been searching for an administrative format that would comfortably reflect its and its more than two centuries. The reconfiguration has been on between us in the 1990s will be the north-south constitutional arrangement, the others having been concluded in 1763, 1774, 1791, 1840 and 1867.

Historical comedian Yves Deschamps got it right when he once remarked "I don't know why the English think we're inconsistent. All we want is an independent Quebec within a strong and unified Canada."

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TOURING



ONTARIO

By Salome Bay

year "Winterlude" included a wonderful bag band and jazz celebration called "Jazzade in Winterlude" at the Château Laurier Hotel. I was performing with Oliver Jones and Vernon Isaac's Band. It was so enjoyable. The Hotel also has a nice jazz club called the "Cock and Lion" and we used to hang out there. It should mention that I found my museum for the show in Ottawa and they were fantastic. One year when I was doing "Mother Goose" at the National Arts Centre, I really had the opportunity to walk around the city. Ottawa is a great walking city. When I'm rehearsing for a show, I don't get to go around a lot but Ottawa is so relaxing and the streets are so easy to follow. There are lots of little quaint shops in Ottawa. Once I brought my daughter, Tasha, with me and we went to the outdoor farmers' market to find some fresh fruit and cheese. I will always remember that I found the most fantastic grapes I have ever eaten there. I was going to take them back to the hotel and eat them but they were good for that! There was street entertainment there and somebody asked me to sing and I said you're kidding me. They were amazed and I think I did because I have a tendency to do that kind of thing. They started to play some

hand of blues and I started humming along and got into it, right in the market. It's very powerful just walking along the Rideau and, of course, if you are into bikes, there are trails and bike paths all over the place. I love bookstores. There is nothing that I like better than browsing through books, especially old books. And I spent hours in Ottawa going to used bookstores. I find the city so warm and cozy. I really have such fond memories of Ottawa.

compiled by Laura Gidycz

Salome Bay is one of Canada's most versatile artists and performers. She starred and toured in the critically acclaimed "BEGGOT" and "MOTHER GOOSE" and last season toured in "COBOLD PRODUCTIONS SLAUGHTER" in Toronto. SALOME BAY is a musical theatre star who has worked with her daughter, Tasha, in various productions.

SALOME BAY discussed OTTAWA and you can see her new play "THE INSIDE STORY" and more information on touring in Ottawa will give a 360° OUTLOOK in the Ottawa area 905-622-7700 and T.O. 416-941-6022.

THE INSIDE STORY

"Ottawa Is So Warm And Cozy — I Fell In Love With The City" The first time I visited Ottawa was in the early '70s when I was invited to sing "Moi Papa" on Parliament Hill for the Canada Day Celebrations. It was the most magical moment of my career. When I started to sing all of a sudden I could hear thousands of children who were there that day singing in French with me and it was wonderful. I met former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau after I sang. I was so excited and so worried about my French but he said that he really liked the way I sang. I fell in love with the city! I have performed in Ottawa several times and I find that my best audiences are there. I can remember performing one year at the beautiful winter carnival called "Winterlude" that takes place right on the Rideau Canal. We could see the amazing ice sculptures everywhere. There were children skating on the Rideau and just having a great time. Even though it was cold outside the atmosphere was very warm. What was so nice for me was that the music was carried for miles along the Rideau and some skaters later told me they could hear it quite far away. One

year "Winterlude" included a wonderful bag band and jazz celebration called "Jazzade in Winterlude" at the Château Laurier Hotel. I was performing with Oliver Jones and Vernon Isaac's Band. It was so enjoyable. The Hotel also has a nice jazz club called the "Cock and Lion" and we used to hang out there. It should mention that I found my museum for the show in Ottawa and they were fantastic. One year when I was doing "Mother Goose" at the National Arts Centre, I really had the opportunity to walk around the city. Ottawa is a great walking city. When I'm rehearsing for a show, I don't get to go around a lot but Ottawa is so relaxing and the streets are so easy to follow. There are lots of little quaint shops in Ottawa. Once I brought my daughter, Tasha, with me and we went to the outdoor farmers' market to find some fresh fruit and cheese. I will always remember that I found the most fantastic grapes I have ever eaten there. I was going to take them back to the hotel and eat them but they were good for that! There was street entertainment there and somebody asked me to sing and I said you're kidding me. They were amazed and I think I did because I have a tendency to do that kind of thing. They started to play some

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Incredible
ONTARIO

Ministry of Tourism & Recreation

HOLLYWOOD'S WILD CARD

AFTER MAKING THE SEQUEL THAT NO ONE ELSE COULD MAKE, JACK NICHOLSON HOLDS COURT

Jack Nicholson had been testing for five days. "I'm a little light-headed," he said with a smile suggesting that the side effects were not entirely unpleasant. "I gain weight easy, so I got to take it off easy. Got to be done." Still a little thick on the outside, Nicholson was bawdy black pants, a striped shirt and a knot he patterned with playing cards. With a deep sigh, he settled into a black leather sofa as large, boxcushioned as the Paramount studio lot in Los Angeles. He lit a cigarette—"It's all I got left," he said with a glint of melancholy—and began an interview with *Madison* that lasted nearly 2½ hours. It roamed over a wide range of subjects—from how he relished playing the Joker in *Batman* to how he would excuse himself if he were president of the United States. But what seemed to be weighing most heavily on Nicholson's mind was his new movie, *The Two Jakes*, which opened in theaters across North America last week.

The most belated sequel in the history of Hollywood, *The Two Jakes* picks up the thread of the 1974 classic *Chinatown*. Set in 1937 and directed by Roman Polanski, *Chinatown* was a darkly atmospheric detective story of murder, corruption and incest revolving around a conspiracy to divert water from parched Los Angeles. *The Two Jakes* takes place 13 years later, as an era of postwar nightmares. Nicholson returns as private detective Jake Gittes, now a war hero with a country-club membership, and he unravels another land-grab conspiracy—involving oil instead of water. For the sequel, Nicholson also served as director and unofficial co-producer. And he became enmeshed in a tug-of-war of conflict and betrayal behind the camera that rivaled the one onscreen. "The movie's last two history lessons spaced six years and meant lifelong friendships among the film-makers (page 45). Missing *The Two Jakes*, said Nicholson, was "the toughest job of my career."

Murder: After walking all the way to the bank with last year's *Batman*—which will earn him an estimated \$50 million from his share of ticket sales and merchandising rights—Nicholson completed *The Two Jakes* as a labor of love: the summer of *Die Hard* Tracy it is a movie about a detective who does not carry a gun. In a summer of action sequels, it is a sequel to a 16-year-old action picture that much of the audience is too young to remember. Said Nicholson: "It was a difficult project to do in today's world. It's very unusual, and not at all preposterous."

Over the course of 48 movies, the actor has built a career as taking risks: "I do like to go against the grain," he said. "If I see one more car lot a vegetable



Nicholson directing (left) and starring in *The Two Jakes* enmeshed in conflict onscreen and off

stand, I'm going to vomit. If I see one more person strangled in polyethylene, I'm going to vomit. If I see one more drop of sweat drip off the nose of one person into the tits of another, I'm going to vomit." He added, "But I've always known, once before I started making movies, that I'm slightly different from the general populace."

Since gaining his way to stardom on the back of a motorcycle in 1969's *Easy Rider*, Nicholson has become the most distinctive actor of his generation. Like Humphrey Bogart and Marlon Brando, he has carved out his own place among Hollywood legends. His garish speeches and over-the-top antics are familiar trademarks of an indelible screen personality. Nicholson created a new prototype for the American male, a mix of sexual menace and uncontrolled charm. Now 53, he is a godfather of Hollywood style, a cult of wealth and taste. He has won two Oscars—in best actor for *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975) and as best support-

ing actor for *Times of Ininderness* (1962). As Robin Williams once remarked about Hollywood's acting hierarchy, "There's Jack, and then there's the rest of us."

Born to an unusual mother in Depression-era Wisconsin, N.J., Nicholson was a working-class upstart who chased the American Dream from the Jersey shore to the California coast. But more than any Hollywood star before him, he has devoted his work to the dark side of that dream. A rage of just-Gotta-realize, he has repeatedly played victims of the modern era. He was the *crucible* rebel giving a witness a gun in his hand in *Five Easy Pieces* (1970). The psychotic patient taking the inmates on a killing trip in *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*; the man-wielding Jackson-the-ban granting "Hollywood's Johnny" in *The Shining* (1980). In the past decade, he played a new hand as a sexually ravenous Jack of Hearts. He was the underwear having sex in a kitchen table in *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1981), the co-antagonist



granted his entry into the film business. In Nicholson's first movie, low-budget 1963 melodrama titled *Cry Baby*, he played the lead—a panicked teenager holding his breath at campout.

It was the first of a dozen Gorman movies that gave the actor a reliable apprenticeship and fast-tracked him to stardom. Gorman's *The Trip*, a drama about capitalism, with LBJ, featured actor Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper, who later starred with him in *Easy Rider*. ("Since *Easy Rider*," he said, "I've felt like I could do whatever I wanted"). And Monk, a chaotic farce starring the anti-funny rock band the Monkees, introduced him to director Bob Rafelson, who went on to direct some of Nicholson's most acclaimed performances—in *Five Easy Pieces*, *The King of Marvin Gaye* (1972) and *The Partners* (Always Ring Three).

Part of Hollywood's New Wave in the 1970s, Nicholson helped to bring a European style of filmmaking to the United States. He worked with directors who tempered entertainment value with dark personal vision and social statements. And in the 1980s, the decade that began with *Postman* and ended with *Baroque*, he sharpened the edges of his screen personality with new, more calculated sense of manipulation. He said that he did *Postman* the story of a letter carrier who becomes a housewife's infatuation, "because I knew *Postman* was getting a copy of it that time that it had to produce a letter for somebody who would stop and say, 'Hey baby, let's get the hell out.' The actor vanished but his face was going, and his voice suddenly acquired a cold edge.

As Nicholson became a star, he remained more of an actor than most, taking on outrageous roles—as a delirious Mafia mobster in *Prosser's Honor* (1988) and a drunk in *Weekend*. And he has collaborated

with some of the world's most brilliant directors, including Polanski, Scorsese, Kubrick, Michelangelo Antonioni and Mike Finkelstein. After directing Nicholson's Oscar-winning performance in *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, Finkelstein was lashed to his gurney. "You don't want look any more than you talk," says Finkelstein, who to shoot the pic," he said.

Obsessive As director himself, Nicholson recognizes spontaneity in his actors. He explained: "I say, 'Look, I don't care if the actor says you jump up and kick him by the nose. If for some reason when that moment comes you want to roll up into a ball and throw yourself into the table, do it.' Because we got the next take."

Nicholson has directed only one movie, *Dr. Strangelove*. In 1970, his 1970 drama about a comical conspiracy, *Dr. Strangelove*, and *Good Swell* (1978), a farcical western, generated limited enthusiasm among critics and at the box office. By taking charge of *The Two Jakes*, he has put his own legend on the line. And as director and



Nicholson's house in Aspen, Colo.: a godfather of Hollywood style and taste

star, he followed an exhausting schedule, what he described as "an unrelenting 20-hour day for three or four months."

His obsessive work habits have made it difficult for Nicholson to settle down. When his marriage broke up, he was acting during the day and writing at night. "It was a high-minded marriage and a high-minded divorce," recalled Nicholson, claiming that, at the end, they separated "for metaphysical reasons."

Three daughters, Jennifer, 27, worked as an assistant art director on *The Two Jakes*. And he now has a new daughter, five-month-old Larzanne Brown. Nicholson. He says that he is helping to care for the baby, but not living with her mother, Rebecca Brown. According to a recent article in *Harper's* magazine, re-



Twice (left): Mayo-Chandler published new tales

ports of the affair last year accused Nicholson's longtime companion, Angela Bensen, with whom he was still involved. And at Christmas, another woman published tales of her sex life with Nicholson in Playboy. British actress Katrina Mays-Chandler, 24, called him "a sporting sex machine" who is "into spanking, bondage, whips and Polaroid pictures." Nicholson's romance with Bensen now appears to be over. But he refuses to talk about it, or any other aspect of his love life. "I think it is

obscene to discuss this in public," he said.

Nicholson is more eager to discuss social philosophy. The actor claims that Americans have become slaves to the automobile. "I'm still an Irish left-wing anarchist," he said. "I think the idea of jobs is to create leisure. The single most misunderstood word in the American lexicon is leisure."

Further: More than rich enough to retire, Nicholson does not always practice what he preaches. He has just taken up golf, but has trouble finding the time to play. "They don't have night golf," he laughed. Trying to explain how he spends his leisure, he said: "You know, I live on it. I support a lot of people. I got a pretty good amount of it stashed up." Some of it hangs on the walls of his house, where he has an impressive collection of paintings by such early modern masters as Manet and Picasso. Perfect above a corner, the house on Mulholland Drive is modest compared with old-money mansions and new money houses in Beverly Hills. And the actor has made a point of driving a car that he bought in 1972 that is a Mercedes-Benz and, like the art, a collector's item that has soared in value.

The interview was interrupted by an assistant on the actress Paramount president. Bruce Marmor had arrived to talk about *The Two Jakes*, "Polanski," said Nicholson. "Now I got to fight for my movie." He seemed to relish the prospect of a good debate. "I'd rather hold my own with the intelligence of my arguments, or I'll be pulled by the intelligence of theirs."

But, with the Paramount president waiting outside, Nicholson continued to talk—about art, lewdness and the things that still seemed to matter to a man who is supposed to have everything. Finally, he made his way to the door. Up close, it could be seen that the first smile covering his face was gone. The smile seemed to have faded. But his eyes glowed with the unconscious energy of a star still determined to stay one step ahead of his own legend.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON in Los Angeles



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SPECIAL REPORT

THE JINX ON THE TWO JAKES

FEUDS BESET THE CHINATOWN SEQUEL

Showing out on the night. On a deserted Chinatown street in Los Angeles, an elegant blonde played by Piper Perabo slugs against the stooping wheel of a yellow rickshaw, her eye pained by a police badge. *Feud* director John Dahl (Jack Nicholson), a hero-defiled by the forces of corruption, watches in silent despair: His partner looks far away from the scene and says, "Forget it, Jake, it's Chinatown." That signature line marks the ending of a movie that Nicholson has been unable to forget. With a wistfully wistful of *Chinatown*, he persisted in making a sequel to that 1974 classic, *Chinatown*, despite enormous obstacles. Now, at the end of a long and painful production history, he has finally completed *The Two Jakes*—five years after cameras were originally set to roll. After surviving a series of delays, difficulties and bitter personal feuds, Nicholson seems proud to have carved another notch in Hollywood history. "This has never been before," he told *Mirror*. "No one has ever done a sequel to a film 34 years later."

The Two Jakes is the second installment of what is rumored to be a trilogy about the early development of resources in Los Angeles—

Nicholson calls it "an ecological tragedy." *Chinatown's* tale of moral corruption revolves around a plot to divert water from the city reservoir. In *The Two Jakes*, set 11 years later, in 1944, Gates uncovers a conspiracy involving the city's underground take of oil. The detective is now more prosperous, compromised and content, but his sense of security is shattered when his past comes back to haunt him in the form of a second Jake, a client named Jake Bernstein (Harvey Keitel). **Rife:** It's a movie about betrayal and obsession with the past—themes that acquired a real resonance for the film-makers. Raging around over the making of *The Two Jakes* has cast a long shadow over the project. The movie was scripted in 1984, when Nicholson created a production company with two of his closest friends—*Chinatown's* Oscar-winning screenwriter, Robert Towne, and its producer, Robert Evans. Towne was slated to direct the film for Paramount Pictures, and Evans—who had not acted since 1968—would co-star as Jake Bernstein. But in April, 1985, when shooting was about to begin, it became clear to town members that Evans was not up to the demands of the role

Since being convicted for possession of cocaine in 1984, the producer's professional life had been in turmoil. He was implicated in the 1982 murder of Roy Keane (a New York City entrepreneur who was involved in the financing of *The Cotton Club* [1984])—by a witness in a prison hearing. Although the prosecutors failed to produce evidence, the case severely damaged Evans' reputation. According to some sources, Evans turned into a virtual press clown on the *Two Jakes* set.

Three days before the cameras were set to roll, Towne decided that Evans had to be replaced. Nicholson proposed forming a deal with the studio, arguing that it would be easier to replace Evans later if necessary. But Towne was adamant. And even Paramount executives, realizing to cut their losses, pulled the plug on the production. The studio bid adieu with some more than \$1 million. *The Two Jakes* partnership expended as creditors sued the three co-producers. And intimate friendships dissolved.

Stalwartly, Nicholson resurrected the project by offering to direct it himself. Towne acknowledges that he was unhappy when his friend usurped his position as director. But, after the earlier debacle, Nicholson was the only one with enough Hollywood influence to revive the project. Last year, Towne spent three months rewriting the script to the star's specifications. Nicholson says that Towne collaborated with him on all decisions. But Towne told *Mirror*: "I don't consider it a collaborative experience. I tried to understand at least I could what he wanted me to do, and it was difficult." Although he is named as the screenwriter in the credits, *The Two Jakes* clearly slipped out of his control—even more than *Chinatown*, which was given directorial freedom by its producer, Roman Polanski, against Towne's wishes.

The rift that *The Two Jakes* created in the 30-year friendship between Nicholson and Towne has not faded. Both are reluctant to discuss their relationship publicly, but occasional allusions appear to be running high. *Los Angeles Magazine* published an article entitled with damning reports of Towne's conduct on the *Two Jakes* set in 1985, and some of them were attributed to longtime Nicholson associate Harold Schreiber. Said Schreiber: "Evans got Nichols, his time from the film turned into a mess. He was a real pain in the neck, under the couch screaming, 'I can't go on.'" Denying the allegations, Towne calls the article "retrospective and defamatory," but adds that he has no desire to fuel the controversy. Launching a libel suit to disprove the claims, he said, would serve no purpose. Meanwhile, an interview with Nicholson's Schreiber did not withhold his remarks, although he conceded that they were based on secondhand reports.

For his part, Nicholson carefully shields the controversy surrounding his movie. "It had a very early beginning," he said. "The best way to put all that behind me is to let it go and bring it to some kind of positive resolution—and put that whole level of what happened out of your life."



Nicholson is a scene from *The Two Jakes* (left) and on the set: friendships strained

The ordeal of making the movie took its toll on Nicholson. Working double time as director and star, he had to shoot under the restraints of a relatively tight budget of \$28 million. After the shoot was over, he spent about a year assembling the final product. And last spring, when he presented his roll to Paramount executives, they politely expressed their concern that audiences might find the story confusing. Finally, the studio released the movie on Aug. 10—nine months before then first announced.

Over the winter, Nicholson wrote and recorded eight pages of narration—what Towne's help—and added it to the movie, "not to explain the story, but to give audiences a

point of reference," he said. As director, star, script doctor and narrator, Nicholson has made the movie his own, and he seems determined to let *The Two Jakes* stand on its own two feet. "All compromise are obvious," he said when asked about the challenge of living up to the *Chinatown* legend. "And you can't avoid them. They can't work for you, they have to work against you."

Corruption: *The Two Jakes* offered Nicholson neither happiness nor riches. But it gave him an opportunity to re-examine a character—and a period in the past—that fascinated him. "Corruption is close to me from the dawn of the film," he said, referring to his roles in *The Witness* of *Swanwick* (1987) and *Swanwick*

tion, human nature is his work. Kory (Mig Tally) is a bad guy, but his human nature is what he's down. The victim's hysterical outcry, John (Miguel Soto), claims that Kory helped him escape the murder to that he could take over his partner's share of a new business. Gates later learns that the solution could be either a wealth of oil, and the key to the whole picture appears to be a hidden script of recorded conversation involving Kathleen Mulcahy—a tragic character from *Chinatown* who was born from a land lease's secretaries' tale of his struggles.

With sensitive expression, the script peels away layers of obsession and desire only to create more confusion. But amid all the narrative sleight of hand, one of the movie's big surprises seems possibly obvious long before it is revealed. Meanwhile, Nicholson delivers an eerie narration about the meaning of it all. "In this town, it's the power with the most fingers," which seems an attempt to make the scene of a heavily doctored script.

Despite the instructions, *The Two Jakes*

GRUB. In the sequel, he is a true cynic. Gates then the character in *Chinatown*. "He is a man who has been through the war," the actor added. "He doesn't make quite as many jokes. He's not quite so much what's right and wrong in any given scene."

The Two Jakes, like *Chinatown*, is a story of personal and political corruption. One film is about oil, the other about water. But the most celebrated products being pumped out of Los Angeles, the city built on a desert, are the big-screen movies that are the movie industry. In terms of the camera on their home town and trying to recapture the classic magic of a classic movie, these Hollywood figures become trapped in their own vicious circle.

For Nicholson, something bigger has come or perhaps was at stake. A considerable slice of the actor's identity—decades of his life—were wrapped up in *The Two Jakes*. Conquering the film became an arduous journey. It was an opportunity to establish himself once and for all as a genuine filmmaker, able to act and direct at the same time. "These are two very demanding jobs," he acknowledged. "It would be impossible later in life to say that my movie wouldn't be improved if you added [director] Roman Polanski or Stanley Kubrick to the company. I don't have the kind of talent." He decided to direct himself because no Polanski or Kubrick were available. In the end, his main accomplishment was to get *The Two Jakes* made at all. "Movement," concluded Nicholson, "is the art of the possible."

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

A DEMANDING MYSTERY

THE TWO JAKES
Directed by John Dahl

It is a mystery in every sense of the word—a whodunit that demands rife concentration just to keep track of who is who, never mind who has done what to whom. Powerfully suggestive, *The Two Jakes* plays havoc with a basic rule of commercial cinema: the audience should at least think it knows what is going on. Nicholson has created a movie of endless beauty, mystery and wit. But, for all its aerial convolutions, it does not work.

The *Two Jakes* tale just begins with a murder. Best estate developer Jake Bernstein (Harvey Keitel) hires private detective John Gates (Nicholson) to give evidence of marital infidelity. During the investigation,

cinema-capturing. So steadily repetitive are the scenes that even the most patient viewer is tempted to skip over California with a hurried glance. Although some of the performances are commendable—Nicholson especially—Nicholson directs the camera, and himself, with little success. He dissolves from day to night, and the last dissolve, his own memory of the scene, is a fascinating study in duplicity, while Keitel serves as a subtle foil. But the fragile characters are thinly drawn—Viper Gates glimpsed through the windows of a limo. And the object of the movie's romantic obsession remains radiantly obscure.

More an artifact of *Chinatown* than a sequel to it, *The Two Jakes* makes sense only from the inside out. A movie about delusion, it also serves as a product of it. Like Gates, Nicholson tried to surround his ghosts of *Chinatown* and was deluded by them—but not without an engaging struggle.

B. D. J.

Sex on the spot

Model-born actress **Gail Travers**, 25, openly in *Vikings* to shoot her first episode. *The Princess* says that she has almost everything about her career (except her name). Per opening, there is the script about two teenage sisters who fall hopelessly in love with their new neighbor, a famous Japanese pianist. Said **Audrey Hepburn**:



Travers: no fun of crashes and bangs

look-alike **Travers**: "It's not like American movies with a lot of crashes and bangs." And she said that director **Charles Guggenheim**, whose previous credits include *The Kid Brother* is "simply wonderful." But the actress was less enthusiastic about her sex scenes with Canadian co-star **Murray Close**: "It takes place in a Japanese on-the-spot," she said. "And I found it very difficult to do. It was a real challenge."

Setting the record straight

Former national track team sprint coach **Charlie Francis** says that, when he sat down to write *Speed Trap*, he had only one goal in mind: to give readers a woman's-eye view of the international track-and-field scene. Francis' name

became synonymous with illegal drug use in high-level amateur sports after his star sprinter, **Ben Johnson**, tested positive for anabolic steroid use at the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul. Lester & Orpen Dennings will publish the book, which Francis co-authored with New York City so-

Francis: no surprises



It is never too late

Former *TV* talent manager **Piers MacDonald**, 64, who will host *North South*, a weekly current affairs program beginning this fall on cable network *Vision TV*, says that he has no concern about making a late career switch to broadcast journalism from politics. "Certainly, I don't have years of media experience," she said. "But the show focuses on Third World issues, and that's an area that I've been directly involved in for a long time. I'd have a lot to contribute."

MacDonald: 'a lot to contribute'

THE POWER OF LOVE

Actress **Lloyd Bridges**, 77, was recently in *Tamara* filming a made-for-TV movie, *The Queen of Mean*, about **Louise Hare**, the ill-fated New York City hotel queen who said, "Only the little people pay taxes." She was married on 23 counts of her first last year. Bridges said that he sympathizes with **Hare**, Louise's 33-year-old husband, whom he plays in the film. "Louise was heartless to outsiders," said Bridges. "But she was very loving to her husband. Love is powerful. I can understand why Harry was petty in her hands."



"I didn't think you were such a pushover."

A lower key

Once the darling of the pop scene, **Duran Duran** attracted thousands of screaming fans and sold more than 11 million albums worldwide at the height of their popularity in the 1980s. But now, the five members of the British pop group admit that they are not holding as many young hearts as they used to. However, keyboardist **Nick Rhodes**, who is currently in Canada promoting the latest **Duran Duran** record, *Liber*, says that he prefers a quieter life. Added Rhodes, who is 38 and married with a child: "You just don't realize that sort of popularity. It would drive you crazy."



Rhodes: driving him crazy

investigative reporter **Jeff Coplan** in November. Said Francis: "It's very tough out there, and athletes are under enormous pressure to win at all costs. So it's no surprise that almost all the top participants use some kind of performance-enhancing substance." He added: "Ben Johnson is not the exception. People should know that."

"What do you mean?"
"Going along with the crowd. Getting talked into that last drink. Or did you forget you were driving?"
"I wasn't going to finish it."
"So why take it?"
"Good question. Why did I?"
"To impress the others."
"Maybe. And to impress you, I guess."
"Thanks, but no thanks. I like you better when you're your own man."
"It was dumb of me. Do I get another chance?"
"Okay, but hurry up and grow up, will you? I'm getting too old to be dating a kid."

Seagram

SCIENCE

Discovery in the deep

Life in Lake Baikal tests evolution theories

Dr Joe Maclean, the Canadian physician who specializes in studying the relationship between humans and the sea, has pursued his underwater studies in all five of the world's oceans. At the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Maclean spent three weeks this summer in Siberia, where he worked with a Russian-American team that explored Lake Baikal, the world's oldest and deepest lake. At one point

three trawls were lowered into the lake aboard a Canadian-built submersible and discovered startling new forms of life in a region where underwater vents erupt warm water into the ancient lake. His report

The Canadian-built submersible Pisces, with two Russians and an American aboard, hovered in the ice-cold darkness at 1,258 feet, its

searchlights aimed at the base of the lake. Inside the craft, Emory Kristof, 46, pioneer deep-sea photographer for the National Geographic Society in Washington and co-leader of the expedition, peered through a small porthole and snapped the first of a series of photographs of a breathtaking phenomenon. Streaming up through the tea-colored sediments of the lake bottom were warm-water vents surrounded by fumes of life that scientists had never before encountered.

For Kristof and his team, it had been a long and difficult journey. Because of the complexities of the science program envisaged by the American and Soviet scholars, two years of planning were required before the U.S. team could travel to the Soviet Union. In June, most of their equipment was lost at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport 3. Then, in July, technical problems with the Pisces submersible, which was built by International Hydrodynamics Ltd. in Vancouver and sold to the Soviets in 1976, as well as problems involving the vessel's

Exploring Lake Baikal: sponges growing near hot-water vent (below); life that may have evolved beyond the sun's rays

launch crane, delayed the expedition for more than a month.

One of the goals of the expedition was to test a theory developed by Karlson Crane, a geologist at Columbia University in New York City and the expedition's chief scientist. In 1977, Crane discovered hot-water vents on the floor of the Pacific Ocean, off the northwest coast of South America near the Galapagos Islands. Crane found fish and other creatures living near the vents as

as vents about 8,500 feet below the surface of the ocean, where sunlight could not penetrate.

The discovery gave rise to speculation by some scientists that life on earth might have evolved in the ocean independently of the sun's rays. Later, Crane and others developed a theory that there might be similar vents at the bottom of Lake Baikal. About 400 miles long and from 30 to 50 miles wide, Lake Baikal, more than 4,800 feet east of Moscow, contains enough fresh water to fill all five of North America's Great Lakes.

After Kristof's team arrived at Lake Baikal in June, Crane said information from U.S. commercial satellites and its underwater sled equipped with cameras, heat sensors and other equipment to search for underwater vents. When the sled made its second run, Crane knew that they were in the right area. After equipment registered what he called "a sharp temperature spike in the near-freezing water," he added, "I knew we had it."

On July 17, at 4 p.m., Kristof, accompanied by a Soviet pilot and technician, climbed into the Pisces and dove into the lake for a closing look. What Kristof saw was a bizarre community of sponges, worms, snails and fish. Scientists speculate that the base-white sponges, which grew in circles, thrived on nutrients pumped up into the lake by the vents, which,

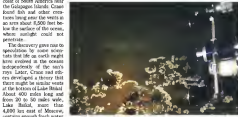
known as "Secret Baikal." Enclosed by snow-topped mountains, the lake, which scientists estimate to be 25 million years old, is located on a huge rift that geologists assume is the boundary between separating plates of the earth's crust.

Soviet scientists said that they were excited about the discovery of warm-water vents on the lake bottom. "We have always believed that Baikal's ecosystem is as unique as the one found in the Galapagos Islands," said Mikhail Gribchen, director of the Baikal Institute of Limnology (the study of freshwater bodies). "This discovery helps confirm it."

The Soviet-American expedition was significant for another reason: Despite problems of language, biology and technology, Russians and Americans worked together more than 1,000 feet below the surface of an ice-cold lake in the heart of Siberia. The expedition—the beginning of a five-year international program—took

place at a time when the Russian Republic and, indeed, the entire Soviet Union are in the throes of redefining themselves for the 21st century. Now, many of the inhabitants of Siberia see their vast land, which is larger than the continental United States, as a place where the old Soviet tyranny of megaprojects must yield to a new reverence of nature and people. Perhaps the discovery of new life in an ancient corner of the old empire is more of a prophecy than a coincidence. □

Lowering the Canadian-built Pisces (below); Crane (below left); Maclean (second from right) in a search for hot-water vents





Magnussen with Romanian child living in "squalid and inhumane" conditions

IMMIGRATION

A cruel legacy

Canadians fight to adopt Romanian orphans

Since poplitzers deposed and executed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu last December, the results of one of his cruelest decrees have become painfully clear in the West. In 1988, he made abortion illegal for any woman under 45 unless she had given birth to at least four children. That quota, intended to supply the army and wilderness, rose to five in 1989. Now, Canadians and other visiting foreigners who want to adopt Romanian orphans are witnessing the consequences of Ceausescu's policy. In more than 250 Romanian institutions, as estimated 100,000 children, many of them suffering from AIDS because of untreated hepatitis, are kept in conditions that witnesses describe as squalid and inhumane. After inspecting four orphanages and two hospitals, Mary Lyons Cosentino, director of developmental for the Scarborough, Ont.-based Christian Children's Fund of Canada, and that she saw in many of 22 children crowded into eight-foot-by-10-foot rooms with barred windows. Added Cosentino: "When you look into those children's eyes, you see death." But prospective adoptive parents have reported acute delays in their efforts to extricate the children from the Romanian bureaucracy.

When the problems of the orphans became known in the West, people began to apply to adopt them, and interest has grown steadily

No official figures are available, but according to Cosentino and representatives of similar agencies, by the end of July, 10 Canadian couples had succeeded in adopting 13 Romanian children and returning with them. Dozens more Canadians and an estimated 2,500 people from other countries are now in Romania negotiating the bureaucratic labyrinth of the new regime. Meanwhile, on July 30, the Romanian parliament eased regulations that formerly required all adoption papers to be signed by the president himself. Now, district court judges have such authorization.

Cosentino says that most orphans in good health have already found homes in the West or have at least been selected for adoption after medical examinations and document processing. The efforts of agencies including the Christian Children's Fund, World Vision, and Samaritan's Purse are focused on the care of the tens of thousands of mentally and physically handicapped still in Romanian institutions. Still Cosentino, "They could be normal children, but they have been abused by neglect." She added that, under the former regime's policy, if a child appeared abnormal at age 3—"and that could mean a child just walking fast"—a state official would label the youngster "irreparable and unadoptable," and order it shipped to an asylum. Still Cosentino, "They could be there and they die."

The relief effort, which Cosentino equates to the West's reaction to the famine in Ethiopia, is building. In January, her agency sent more than \$500,000 in medical supplies, clothing and vegetable seeds to the ill-equipped and understaffed asylums. The Christian Children's Fund plans a TV fund-raising campaign for later this month, and dozens of other drives for food, medical supplies and equipment are under way around the world.

The organization that has attracted the greatest amount of publicity and funding is the Romanian Angel Appeal, founded by Olivia Baranov, Linda McCartney and Barbara Buck, all wives of former Beatles. John Lennon's widow, Yoko Ono, and rock star Elton John. Their group has raised \$2.26 million in Britain. And at the end of July, Warner Bros. released *Nobody's Child*, a record album sponsored by George Harrison and Elton John. The album features the Traveling Wilburys, Guns N' Roses, Paul Simon, Steve Wonder, Eric Clapton, the Bee Gees and other stars. All profits from the album's sales will go to the Romanian Angel Appeal.

While funding campaigns accelerate, about 100 Canadians have been awaiting reports on their hoped-for adoptions. One couple, Beverly and Ross Johnston of Casarwick, B.C., received permission late last week to adopt a dark-haired, dark-eyed little girl, 2½ years old, and a sandy-haired, blue-eyed boy aged 3½. Ross Johnston, 40, the owner of one of the Abbotford Church of the Nazarene, who waited in Romania since the middle of July for officials to complete work on adoption documents, had sent home photographs of the children. Still Beverly Johnston, 41, waving with the couple's seven-year-old adopted daughter, Heidi, "I look at their pictures and I just want to have them here and hug them. This whole thing is not for the faint of heart."

Meanwhile, Arnold Magnussen, a 33-year-old lawyer from Oakville, B.C., has been waiting for his wife to extricate a Romanian with their third child, two-year-old Alexandra. When Cheryl Magnussen, 30, found her in an orphanage in June, the child was malnourished, weighed only 20 lb. and spent most of her time in her crib. Finally, last Friday, Cheryl was able to tell her husband by phone that she and Alexandra would be joining the shipwrecked and two brothers within a few days. Then, Alexandra Magnussen will join the numbers of Romanian children in the West who are living testimony to the cruelty of a system that is now part of the tales of history.

RAL QUINN is Vancouver with KENTON KUGUJAN in Toronto and corresponding reports.

Cleaning up its act.



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Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

Let podiatrists do a Constitution

BY STEWART MACLEOD

Tell me, as we wind our collective hands over the dome of the Melech Lake arena, we aren't missing—perhaps late—opportunity to get out of a century-old constitutional morass. And, before Prime Minister Mulroney launches us into a brain-boggling "big national debate" on the future of Canada, a plea for sanity.

That is, for once can't we impose a complete ban on constitutional lawyers—those people who, incredibly, have not only managed to survive as a Constitution is necessary, but somehow become personally obsessed in the process? That is, in case you hadn't noticed, have been our downfall from the beginning. To let these animals loose on a project of this import has been sheer insanity. Much better that constitutional reform be substituted by a total exemption of, say, podiatrists.

Just look at the cast which engineered the 1982 Constitution, with its troublesome Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Lawyers all—Pierre Trudeau, Jean Charest, Roy MacLennan, Roy Romanow and others. They struck a mid-eight deal in an Ottawa kitchen, which divided a third of the country. Great work.

More recently, most constitutional lawyers in the country spent three bewildering years arguing whether the "distinct society" clause would or would not, extend Quebec's legislative authority in some obscure way—while the real people were quietly leading the province towards secession.

The trouble with constitutionally obsessed lawyers is that they have this fancy idea a constitution governs a country and its people. In truth, at court—and podiatrists, among others, know this—it's the other way around. Constitutions, for countries unfortunate enough to have them, are rebuffed with every spring cleaning, usually by the courts, to accommodate the changing requirements of the people, or the whims of dictators.

Take the American Constitution, with more

We suggest podiatrists for the job because they are great listeners; but absolutely no lawyers please

protested individual freedoms than any other—about 37—and that doesn't include the "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" phrase in the Declaration of Independence, which has been frequently cited in the courts as a "higher law" than the mighty U.S. Constitution itself. That constitution, if you must be reminded, is the same one under which slavery flourished for a century. When it comes to pursuing happiness, slavery isn't always the first thing that springs to mind.

Instead of copying the American permits, we opted for the more modest Canadian "peace, order and good government"—knowing full well we'd never get it there.

Our obsession with the Constitution began because of the humiliation of having to risk the Brits for changes to the British North America Act, which rested in the bowels of Westminster. The idea was the brain of our present Constitution—the one Pierre Trudeau described as "our coming of age." Five years later, after another round of midnight Massages, we had Prime Minister Mulroney saying the Melech award would "complete the family circle."

Some age, some circle. Simply a new collection of clauses to fight over. Over again. Col-

onel Senkler was colonized on the chicken. No question about it, constitutional lawyers, with their pernickled pronouncements on possible modifications, blew it. Amazingly, they again convinced us that every word in the Constitution was actually important.

Some said federal-provincial programs would be threatened—while we all know that if there's a national will for such programs, they'll be implemented, the Constitution be damned. And vice versa.

Come to think of it, our unemployment insurance program was unconstitutional when implemented in 1940. No problem, just a simple amendment did the trick.

Look at all the nonsense fretting about giving Quebec a veto on Senate reform—as if there was ever the slightest chance Senate reform without Quebec's consent. Podiatrists would know that.

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms might be a fiasco, particularly when it comes to clapping the courts. But, when all freedoms have to be "constitutionally justified in a free and democratic society," we're headed back where we always were—to common sense. Canada wasn't exactly a tyranny before 1982.

Quebecers, incidentally, now live under the freedom of two charters. That's the province where you can't just outdoor signs in English. Europe breaks down.

Are you aware that the Supreme Court of Canada upheld federal legislation which makes it illegal to communicate, or appear to communicate, for the purposes of prostitution—a clear violation of the freedom of expression section of the charter? Although the two female judges, to their credit, dissented, the court's 4-to-3 decision was that the "prostitution-related aspects of solicitation" outweighed the charter violation.

Once again, we meet society's demands. A waste of court time. And for the rest of us, a reminder that, if we approach an individual lady for a moment, under some other's not a bother. You can't be too careful with so many freedoms on the loose. Little wonder British-patriotism nagged when John Diefenbaker brought as his legacy leaving Bill of Rights, which, among other things, entitled us to the "sacredness of property"—another precious waste of words, particularly for suburban apartment dwellers.

You see, Brits aren't impressed with constitutions, having never had one. However, it's great to know Adams has one of the finest. Bonus in fiction for its constitutional freedom—obviously a great comfort to Lord Stirling's victims. Just about every two-bit principality in the world is rich in petrolic parchment.

Wonder how many of us'd be with a simple, single-specked declaration that Canada is a democracy, governed by the rule of law and common sense. And act one clause to trigger another footnote. While we suggest podiatrists for the job, because they're great listeners, it could be anyone, sociologists, dentists, therapists, Ukrainians. Perhaps a course, open to all groups—except, of course, absolutely no constitutional lawyers.

Stewart MacLeod is a Glasgow columnist for *Flammarion News Service*.

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